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THE MUSEUM

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BABYLONIAN SECTION

VOL. III

ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXTS FROM NIPPUR

BY

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TO

MY FATHER AND MOTHER

FIRST AND BEST OF TEACHERS

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PREFACE

The primary purpose of this publication was to edit, with translation and necessary notes, the incantation texts inscribed on bowls from Nippur, now in the possession of the Museum. But it soon became apparent that full account should be made of all other published texts of like character, both for my own advantage in securing a larger material for collation and also for the convenience of scholars by presenting in one work a survey of a rather remote and scattered field, in which many have labored but none has attempted a treatment of the subject at large. I have accordingly not only given a description of all the earlier material but also collated it as fully as possible both in the Glossaries and in the references of Introduction and Commentary. The Introduction, thus extended beyond the field of the Nippur texts, has grown to still greater dimensions with the enlarging perception of the intimate relations between the bowl-inscriptions and the broad fields of ancient magical literature. Previous editors, working before the present great development of the study of magic, had taken little notice of these connections with a wider world. Analogies with the Talmud and possible connections with the Kabbalistic lore had been pointed out, but the bowls still remained without definite place or links in the general field of ancient magic. Withal the relations of Jewish magic to the larger whole have not yet been ascertained.

But within the last few decades an immense advance has been made in our knowledge of ancient magic and of its prime importance as a study in the history of mankind. The chief

stimulus to this has come, first, from the anthropologists and the students of comparative religion, who have taught us not to ignore the most primitive or most degraded manifestations of the human spirit. Then there have been the rapid strides in the advance of Egyptology and Assyriology, where at every step the student faces the problem of the identities and differences of magic and religion. Further, the classical philologists have at last condescended to examine the vulgar magical records in the Greek and Latin tongues, and have found an interest in them as revealing how the ancient "man of the street," and wiser men as well, actually talked and thought, in modes different from the traditional standards of the classical civilization. Of this large increase in material and understanding I have been fortunately able to avail myself, with the result of the discovery of innumerable clues proving that the bowl-magic is in part the lineal descendant of the old Babylonian sorcery while at the same time—and this is the more important because a less expected discovery—it takes its place in that great field of Hellenistic magic which pervaded the whole of the western world at the beginning of the Christian era. My chief contribution to the study has been in these two directions, the relations with the cuneiform religious texts and the Greek magical papyri. The writer's knowledge of Egyptian magic was wholly at second hand, and in any case that earlier influence was mediated to this special field through Hellenism. The Christian Syrian literature is shown to have its close connections, being thoroughly infused, as was the early Church, with magical ideas. Magic within Judaism has been the subject of capital monographs by competent Jewish scholars, and in that direction I have not been able to do much more than to appropriate their results, except so far as to show the absolute

community of ideas and terms and practice between Jewish and Gentile sorcery. It remains a subject for an interesting investigation to discover just what Judaism gave to, and what it received from, the Hellenistic magic, but probably a hopeless study, for, as someone has remarked, in the history of magic we must pursue not the genealogical but the analogical method. As a result of these comparisons, the conclusion must be drawn, as indicated in § 15 of the Introduction, that the magic of the bowls, and in a general way, all Jewish magic, has come out of the crucible of the Graeco-Roman world, which, on account of its dominating civilization, we call Hellenistic; it is not Jewish but eclectic.

However, with this broadening of the scope of the work, it has been the fixed purpose not to attempt any general study of magic; this would have been but to confuse my work and cloud my results. With a single eye, the facts of the texts have been illustrated in as objective a way as possible from the phenomena of locally inherited and contemporaneous magic, with the intent of establishing the immediate bonds of connection. My work would be a contribution from a very small and limited field to the study of magical thought and practice within a definite age and region. At least there has come to the writer the satisfaction of finding a place for the *membra disjecta* of these out-of-the-way texts in the huge colossus of that system of magic which was once almost the actual religion of our western civilization.

If I appear to have gone into much detail in the treatment of these non-literary texts, I trust that the results will justify my undertaking; the expansion of the work has proceeded naturally and subtly much beyond the editor's desire and convenience. From the philological point of view these vulgar inscriptions are of as much interest to the Semitist as are the

magical papyri to the classicist. Careful study shows that, with the exception of intentionally unintelligible passages, mystic phrases and the like, the words and the syntax of the texts are the autograph representatives of the language of their writers. Three different Aramaic dialects, each with its own script, and one script a peculiar variety of the Edessene, are offered in the bowls from Nippur, and they are of importance as original documents of the dialectic forms of the speech of Babylonia about the eve of the rise of Islam. Other original monuments are well-nigh lacking for this field; we are confined almost entirely to the school-literatures of religious sects, of the Jews, Christian Syrians and Mandaeans, whose books are preserved mostly in late manuscripts. The Jewish magical literature is all documentarily late or uncertain as to age, and our texts have a historical worth as almost the earliest records in that line which can be exactly dated. Further, the obscure and crabbed condition of the texts compelled an exact philological examination in order to test hypotheses of interpretation. And as to matters beyond philology, it will not, I hope, be set down to wilful acriby if I have attempted to work out very small clues. In such work as this there is no immediate compensation on the surface, and it is only by following out the fine tendrils of connection that results worth while can be obtained. The writer's experience in his study is well expressed by some words of Professor Deissmann: "It may be that hundreds of stones, tiresomely repeating the same monotonous formula, have only the value of a single authority, yet in their totality, these epigraphic results furnish us with plenty of material—only one should not expect too much of them, or too little" (*Bible Studies*, 82).

In regard to the representation of the texts it might have been technically more correct to present them in their several

scripts. But apart from the difficulty of procuring two of these types in American printing houses and compositors who could set them, it must be patent that the general convenience is far better subserved by presenting the texts in the well-known Hebrew character, while those who desire the original scripts can satisfy themselves with the facsimiles published in the second volume. The peculiar Mandaic relative particle is represented, according to convention, by the diacritical דַ; but I have departed from the usual custom of editing Mandaic texts by representing the pronominal suffix in *-h* by ה and have used ח for the radical ה or ח, which two sounds fall together in the dialect. In the Glossaries words containing this common character are arranged according to its etymological distinction as ה or ח. In the transliterations inferior points indicate doubtful readings, superior points are used for the diacritical marks of the Syriac texts. The numbered lines of the texts represent the spiral lines, taken as beginning from the radius where the inscription begins.

The Prefatory Note to the Plates describes how the facsimiles were made. I have to express my deep obligation to my friend and colleague, the Rev. Dr. R. K. Yerkes, for his careful reading of the volume in proof.

James A. Montgomery.

The University Museum, February 2, 1912.

I. SURVEY OF THE MATERIAL

§ 1. The Material in the Museum

The University Museum contains a large number of inscribed earthenware bowls found at Nippur belonging to the category of the so-called "Incantation Bowls." These vessels are generally of the size and shape of a modern porridge-bowl, except that in most cases the bowl is somewhat cone-shaped, so that when set down it balances itself in a state of unstable equilibrium. Some few have the boss expanded into a rim, thus giving a flat surface at the bottom of the bowl. The most common size is of about 16 cm. diameter at top, by 5 cm. full depth. There is one large bowl, 28 x 16 cm.[1]

The bowls are made of a good clay, and are wheel-turned and kiln-dried; they have no surface, slip or glazing of any kind.[2] They were a domestic ware, intended for foods, and in no way differ from the simple vessels which to this day are made in the Orient for household use.

The bowls in the Museum were excavated at Nippur, in Babylonia, by the University of Pennsylvania Expedition; so far as I know, they are finds of the first two campaigns, conducted by Professor Peters in the years 1888, 1889. According to Peters' account,[3] these bowls were found on the top, or in the first strata of the mounds, in several places. They appear generally to have been discovered in the ruins of houses, amidst what Peters suggests were Jewish settlements; the whole surface of one hill, he says "was covered with a Jewish settlement, the houses of which were built of mud-brick, and in almost every house we found one, or more,

[1] Many such large specimens are in the British Museum and at Constantinople.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. D. Randall-MacIver, late of the Museum, for the characterization of the pottery.

[3] See his *Nippur*, the Index to which, *sub* "Jewish incantation bowls" gives the references.

Jewish incantation bowls."[4] At least in one case bowls were found in connection with a cemetery; "we found ourselves in a graveyard..... It was interesting to find, between one and two metres below the surface, in the immediate neighborhood of slipper-shaped coffins, inscribed Hebrew bowls."[5] As for the chronological light thrown upon these bowls, Cufic coins were found in the houses of these "Jewish" settlements,[6] and one of the most extensive finds of inscribed bowls was in the strata above the "Court of Columns," a Parthian building.[7] Peters holds the seventh century to be the latest date for the Jewish settlements where Cufic coins were found.[8]

The Museum Catalogue counts over 150 numbers of this class of specimens, but the enumeration includes a large number of fragments. About 30 of the bowls are what I would call "original fakes"; they are inscribed with letters arbitrarily arranged, or with pot-hooks, or even in some cases with mere scrawls, and I judge that these articles were palmed off on the unlearned public as "quite as good" as true incantations.[9] A still larger number of the bowls are so broken and their inscriptions so defaced, that I have not been able to use them. Others again were inscribed by so illiterate scribes that so far as they can be made out, they offer only some magical jargon, which adds nothing to our knowledge. Again there are a few texts which are fairly written and without those self-betraying combinations of letters that suggest a mock inscription, but which nevertheless are not Semitic. They may be in some non-Semitic tongue, whether, for example, in Pahlavi, I am not able to say. One of the neatest of the bowls, No. 2954, containing only four circular lines of inscription, interested me as presenting a novel alphabet; but I soon came to the conclusion that this is but another "fake," produced we may suppose by some learned impostor—or wag.

[4] ii, 182 f.; cf. p. 194.

[5] i, 245.

[6] ii, 183. On the following page the writer says that Arabic bowls along with Jewish and Syriac were found; but the Museum contains no Arabic specimens.

[7] Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 447.

[8] ii, 153, 183, 186. For further discussion of the date, see § 14.

[9] In many cases the inscriptions were written by laymen, who thus saved themselves the exorcist's fee. Schwab notices some forged bowls at Constantinople, *PSBA*, xiii, 595.

All the relics from Nippur came to the University as the gift of the Sultan of Turkey, and in the matter of these incantation bowls I understand that the best specimens, the largest and fairest, have been retained in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. At all events those in Philadelphia in almost all cases prevent complete decipherment because of mutilation.[10] A large segment of the spherical surface may be missing, or an extensive portion of the interior, a side, or the upper or lower portion of the bowl may have become illegible, probably through the action of water. The inscription being spiral, such mutilations intrude their annoyance into every line. The damaged nature of this collection has added much to the toil of decipherment, for every break in the text and every effacement necessitates speculation as to the missing contents. On the other hand it is cause for remark and gratitude that these fragile vessels have been preserved as intact as they are, and that the scribes used such excellent ink that what they wrote has largely survived in defiance of "the powers of the air," the elements and the corroding chemical agents.

As a result of the investigation of the whole collection I have selected 40 bowls for publication, to which number should be added the one published earlier by Myhrman (accompanying No. 7). The remaining bowls and fragments are on the whole too illegible or too undecipherable to make it worth while to add them to this material. The languages of the inscriptions are three Aramaic dialects:— (1) the language with which we are familiar from the Babylonian Talmud, to which belong Nos. 1-30; (2) a Syriac dialect, Nos. 31-37; the Mandaic, Nos. 38-40. Each of these has its own script. As an appendix, I publish, as No. 41, a human skull inscribed with a magical inscription of like character to those on the bowls, and No. 42 is a text of peculiar magical contents which has come to my hands, but with its original now lacking in the Museum.

[10] With few exceptions, all the bowls I have deciphered have been put together from fragments into which they had fallen, in the Museum.

§ 2. The Material Hitherto Published, and in Other Collections[1]

The first publication of Mesopotamian incantation bowls appeared in Layard's notable volume, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon.*[2] In describing his finds at Tell Amran, near Hillah, the great explorer tells of discovering "five cups or bowls of earthenware, and fragments of others, covered on the inner surface with letters written in a kind of ink" (p. 509). He notes that like material had been discovered before. Two from the collection of a Mr. Stewart had been deposited in the British Museum, which had also acquired through Colonel Rawlinson eight specimens obtained at Bagdad, their provenance however being unknown. In a later passage (p. 524) Layard records the discovery of a similar bowl, along with many fragments, at Nippur,—the precursor of the collection in Philadelphia.

Layard committed his bowls to Mr. Thomas Ellis, of the staff of the British Museum, whose results are given in Layard's work, appearing pp. 509-523.[3] Layard himself takes up the discussion p. 523 ff, with criticism of Ellis's results. The latter presented five Judaeo-Aramaic bowls, and one in Syriac, with summaries of fragments of others. Of these only four were given in facsimile, nos. 1, 3, 5, 6.[4] Subsequent scholarly investigation has proved not only that Ellis was wild in his interpretations of the bowls, but also that the facsimiles were unreliable. Hence the latter can only be used with caution or with the aid of later

[1] Stübe, *Jüdisch-babylonische Zaubertexte,* 1895, gives a good review of the literature up to date, although requiring some corrections and additions. See also Wohlstein, in *ZA,* viii (1893), 313 f.

[2] London, 1853. There is a German translation by Zenker, the bowls appearing there in Plate xx.

[3] Layard leaves it somewhat indefinite which bowls were treated by Ellis.

[4] Ellis's first bowl turns out to be a duplicate of our No. 11, under which I am able to present the restored text of the former. Was this the bowl which Layard reports was found at Nippur?

copies, while the bowls published without facsimiles are absolutely worthless as scientific copy. Layard's publication therefore did little more than attract the attention of scholars to a fresh field of philology and religious lore.

The first scientific treatment of this new material came from M. A. Levy, of Breslau, who devoted a long essay to Ellis's bowl, no. 1, in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* for 1855 (ix, 465).[5] He was the first to grasp the peculiar *lingo* of the inscription, and in his commentary drew largely from Judaistic and Mandaic stores of learning. He also gave an elaborate treatment of the palaeography of the bowl, overthrowing the claims that had been advanced for a pre-Christian origin.

Twenty years later J. M. Rodwell published a bowl from Hillah that had been procured by the British Museum, under the title, *Remarks upon a Terra-Cotta Vase,* with a photographic facsimile.[6] This second English venture at decipherment was no better than the first, its sole merit lying in the fact that the French scholar J. Halévy was induced to take up the same bowl on the basis of the facsimile, and to give it a scholarly transliteration and translation, with commentary, under the title, *Observation sur un vase judéo-babylonien du British Muséum.*[7] Four of the bowls that had been published were presented by the great Hebrew epigraphist Chwolson in his monumental *Corpus inscriptionum hebraicarum.*[8] The first (Chwolson's number, 18) is Ellis no. 1, the second (no. 19) is Ellis no. 3, the third (no. 20) is the bowl published by Rodwell and Halévy; and the

[5] *Über die von Layard aufgefundenen chaldäischen Inschriften auf Topfgefässen. Ein Beitrag zur hebräischen Paläographie u. z. Religionsgeschichte,* with Ellis's facsimile. Levy again treated the same inscription under the title "Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden," in the *Jahrbuch f. d. Geschichte d. Juden,* ii (1861), 266, 294.

[6] In *TSBA,* ii (1873), 114.

[7] In *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* series iv, vol. v (for 1877; Paris, 1878), 288. He re-edited his material in his *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire,* 229.

[8] St. Petersburg, 1882, col. 113 f. The facsimiles are reproduced at the end of the volume. The Russian edition of this work (St. Petersburg, 1884) publishes five bowls and considerably varies from the German edition (so Wohlstein, *ZA,* viii, 315). For nos. 19, 21, Chwolson made use of improved transcripts prepared for him by Halévy. In his review of the *Corpus* in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeige* for 1883, Landauer comments on these bowls (p. 507).

fourth (no. 21) is Ellis no. 5. Chwolson adopted a skeptical position toward the speculations and guesses of his predecessors, and his commentaries are valuable as a restraint upon their theories. Of special interest is his discussion of the age of the bowls from the palaeographic point of view—a subject which I take up in § 5.

The most extensive editor of the material under discussion has been Moise Schwab, the author of the French translation of the Talmud. In 1882 he published, in collaboration with E. Babelon, a bowl in the possession of the French government, under the title *Un vase judéo-chaldéen de la Bibliothèque Nationale,*[9] along with a facsimile and commentary. In 1885 he published a bowl at the Louvre in an article entitled *Une coupe d'incantation,*[10] without facsimile. He then presented a large series of bowls in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,* for the years 1891 and 1892.[11] He included several bowls already published, with the old facsimiles, but failed to offer photographic copies of the bowls he brought to light. It seems strange that the English scholarly world rested content with the poor facsimiles of the relics in the British Museum, made almost forty years before, and that Schwab did not avail himself of better texts than his predecessors had used. Between the articles appearing in the two volumes of the *PSBA* Dr. Schwab contributed studies of two bowls to the *Revue d'assyriologie,* etc., under the title, "Deux vases judéo-babyloniens."[12] These he numbered F and G so as to align them with those appearing in the other publications. The material thus presented by Schwab is as follows:

A, in *PSBA,* xii = Ellis, no. 1; Levy; Chwolson, no. 18.
B, in *PSBA,* xii = Ellis, no. 3; Chwolson, no. 19.
C, in *PSBA,* xii = Rodwell; Halévy; Chwolson, no. 20.
D, in *PSBA,* xii = Ellis, no. 5; Chwolson, no. 21.

[9] In *Revue des études juives,* iv (1882), 165.

[10] In *Revue de l'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale,* i (1886), 117.

[11] In vol. xii, 292: *Les coupes magiques et l'hydromancie daus l'antiquité orientale,* with introductory remarks, and, p. 296, a description of the 22 bowls then in the British Museum; in vol. xiii, 583: *Coupes à inscriptions magiques.* This material was first presented to the French Academy of Inscriptions in the years 1883, 1885, 1891. At the end of the first article is a glossary to the bowls published therein.

[12] ii (1892), 136.

E, in *PSBA,* xii; a bowl in the National Library at Paris, also in *REJ,* iv, (without note in the *Proceedings* that he had published it before).

F, G, in *Rev. d'ass.,* ii; bowls in the Louvre. The exterior inscription on G is given under G in *PSBA* (p. 327).

H, in *PSBA,* xii; a bowl in the British Museum.

I, in *PSBA,* xii; a bowl in the Louvre, also in *Rev. d'ass.,* i (without note that he had published it before).

L, in *PSBA,* xiii; a bowl in the Lycklama Museum at Cannes (other than that published by Hyvernat).

M, in *PSBA,* xiii; a bowl in the Louvre, acquired by Heuzey.

N, O, P, in *PSBA,* xiii; three bowls in the collection Dieulafoy from Susiana.

Q, in *PSBA,* xiii; a bowl in the Musée de Winterthur.

R, in *PSBA,* xiii; a bowl in the coin department of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Meanwhile there had appeared, in 1885, a study of a bowl in a provincial French museum by H. Hyvernat (now professor in the Catholic University, Washington): *Sur un vase judéo-babylonien du musée Lycklama de Cannes (Provence).*[13] Unfortunately the accompanying photographic facsimiles are barely legible as published; however there is little doubt as to the text and its meaning. [14] Schwab also refers[15] to a bowl published by B. Markaug in the *Zapiski* of the Imperial Russian Society of Archaeology, iv, 83, which I have not been able to procure.

A few years later the collection of incantation bowls at the Royal Museum in Berlin was made the subject of study by two young scholars, working contemporaneously but independently. J. Wohlstein published, under the title, *Ueber einige aramäische Inschriften auf Thongefässen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin,* five bowls, with introduction to the general subject and commentary.[16] And R. Stübe published a Berlin bowl in his

[13] In *Zeitschrift f. Keilschriftforschung,* ii (1885), 113.

[14] This publication received criticism from M. Grünbaum on a subsequent page of the same journal (p. 217), especially for its dependence upon Kohut's notions of Jewish angelology; and on p. 295 Nöldeke expressed some comments on the text, especially animadverting on its age.

[15] *Rev. d. Assyriologie,* ii, 137.

[16] *ZA,* viii (1893), 313, and ix (1894), 11, In vol. viii appears no. 2422; in vol. ix, nos. 2416, 2426, 2414, 2417.

Jüdisch-babylonische Zaubertexte.[17] The text he published, the longest yet edited, is the same as the second given by Wohlstein; his treatment is fuller than that of his contemporary, to whom he is able to refer in his printed notes. Stübe gives a description of nineteen bowls in the British Museum. Unfortunately neither publication is enriched with facsimiles. Subsequently S. Fraenkel contributed some notes to Wohlstein's bowls in the same journal, in part on the basis of his own transcription.[18]

Pognon, French consul at Bagdad, broke the ground of a fresh dialect of bowl-inscriptions with the study of a Mandaic bowl—*Une incantation contre les génies malfaisants en mandaite,* appearing in 1892.[19] The bowl was purchased from Arabs at Bismaya. In 1898 the same scholar published an elaborate work upon bowls found at Khuabir 55 km. NW of Musseyib, on the right bank of the Euphrates; he visited the locality but was unable to reach the site where the bowls were found. His work, entitled *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir,*[20] contains some valuable appendices, of wider interest than the title suggests, and is furnished like the earlier monograph with full apparatus. Five more Mandaic bowls were published by Lidzbarski in his *Ephemeris,* i, 89, "Mandäische Zaubertexte." The fifth of these texts is a duplicate of my No. 11 and is given there in parallelism. Three of the texts are in the Berlin Museum, and two in the Louvre.

Professor Gottheil contributed to Peters' *Nippur* (ii, 182) a translation of one of the bowls at Pennsylvania (= No. 12 below). Dr. Myhrman, of Uppsala, published from the same collection no. 16081, with commentary; his monograph appeared in *Le monde orientale,* Uppsala, 1907-8, and with revision as a contribution to the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume[21] under

[17] Halle, 1895.

[18] *ZA,* ix, 308.

[19] In the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* (Paris), viii, 193, and in separate print.

[20] Paris, 1898, with facsimiles and full glossary; reviewed by Nöldeke, *WZKM,* xii, 141; Lidzbarski, *TLZ,* 1899, col. 171; Schwally, *OLZ,* ii, 7, iii, 458; Chabot, *Revue critique,* xlvi, 43, xlix, 484. Pognon also saw some bowls in the square character, some in Estrangelo, and some which he presumed might be in Pahlavi (p. 1). In my citations to Pognon, I cite his two books as A and B respectively.

[21] Leipzig, 1909; p. 342.

the title *An Aramaic Incantation Text;* this text is given below in parallel with No. 7.

It is in place here to notice the location of incantation bowls in the various museums. Despite a query addressed over a year ago I have not received any information from the authorities as to the number and character of the bowl-texts at the Imperial Museum in Constantinople; its collection from what I hear must be large and fine, and has been particularly enriched from Nippur.

Dr. L. W. King has kindly informed me that the British Museum contains 61 bowls of our class, exhibited in the Babylonian Room. Some of the specimens, I also learn, are of very large size. The texts are in the square script, Syriac, Mandaic and Arabic.

Schwab thus sums up, for the year 1906, the bowl-texts in the French museums:[22] 2 in the National Library, 7 in the Louvre, 2 in the Museum Lycklama, Cannes; also one in private hands.

Through Professor Ranke's kindness I learn that in the Berlin Museum there are 69 bowls with "Hebrew" (i. e. Aramaic?) inscriptions, 9 with Syriac (presumably inclusive of Mandaic). Stübe gives a description of 19 of these. In the same museum there are two inscribed skulls, similar doubtless to the one published below as No. 41.

At the National Museum in Washington are found five bowls, four in square script, one in Estrangelo; but from photographs kindly lent me by Dr. Casanowicz, two of the former are to be designated as "fakes" in the sense used above. These bowls are said to have been found at Hillah. The German *Orient-Gesellschaft* has recently announced the discovery of three bowls at Asshur,[23] and Koldewey, *Tempel von Babylon u. Borsippa,* 58, speaks of numerous Aramaic bowls found at Borsippa.

Of bowls in private hands, I note one unpublished Syriac text in the possession of Professor Hyvernat, of the Catholic University, Washington; and three which Mr. Wm. T. Ellis purchased at Nippur in 1911, one of them containing a Syriac text similar to those published in this volume; this text I have prepared for publication in the Journal of the American

[22] *Journal asiatique,* X, vii, 8.

[23] *Mittheilungen,* no. 43, p. 13.

Oriental Society, where it will shortly appear. A few citations of this text are given in the glossaries under the abbreviation "Montg."[24]

The provenance of this material is thus confined to a small region, extending from Nippur and Bismaya on the south to Asshur on the north, and lying on both sides of the Euphrates.

[24] The "Roman bowl from Bagdad" described by O. S. Tonks in the *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, 1911, 310, on which he would find some magical syllables, has been proved by A. T. Olmstead (*ib.*, 1912, 83) to be a late Arabic forgery. A Pahlavi bowl inscription reported by A. V. W. Jackson, *JAOS*, xxviii, 345, does not belong to our category.

§ 3. Some Notes on the Texts Hitherto Published

I offer in this section some critical notes on the texts described in the last section. The texts would in many cases have been simplified if the editors had recognized that there is no distinction in the script between ה and ח, and most often none between ו and י. The glossary will indicate emendations of simple words, but here I present corrections necessary for the construction.

Ellis 1 has been recovered, as remarked above, through a duplicate in the Pennsylvania collection; see to No. 11. No facsimile is given for Ellis 2.

In Ellis 3 the opening lines should read:[1] דיוחון די פתכרי וי סטני ופתיכרי (2) כולהון מן מהפירוז בר הינדו . . . כל פתיכרי דיכרי ואיסרתא (3) לטתא אסרן נוקבתא ופום כל בני אינשא אסרן כולהון מן מהפרוז בר הינדו נידו[ר]י ולטתא וג׳. The discovery of the proper names, Mehpêrôz[2] son of Hindû (see Glossary B), clears up these lines. איסרתא = איסתרתא? but see Glossary C under latter word. After the first word the scribe intended to write דיוי; inadvertently he broke into the word with פ׳, and then leaving the error uncorrected (as is the rule of these scribes) continued with the first word.—Read in l. 4, משכוניהון (?) for משריניהון; cf. משכונתא in glossary.—In l. 4 f. there is a parallelism to the opening lines of Schwab G:

Ellis 3	Schwab G
בשום הפכה הפיכה סורה (?) שמיה הפיכי	הפכה הפכה הפכה שמיה הפיכה ארעה
כוני והפכי מזלי הפיכה שעיהון דכל בני	הפיכה כוכב הפיכה מזלי הפיכא לוטתא
אנשא תשריה (?) לוטתא דאבא וג׳	הפיכה שעותא הפיכא לוטתא דאבא וג׳

בשום introduces a magical formula which can accomplish the *bouleversement* (הפיכה) of all things and hence of evil arts. כוני = כוכב, and must

[1] The numbers in the text represent the spiral lines.
[2] This reading is certain in l. 8.

be the Assyrian *kêwân* (biblical כיון), used in the general sense of planet. שעותא, שעיהון, are used in the sense of *derisio*, etc. (see Payne-Smith, *Thes.*, col. 4249 f.).—What follows is to be read thus: "The curse of father and mother, of daughter and daughter-in-law and mother-in-law is loosed (שריא), what is far and what is near, what is found in country or city—what is found in the country is loosed, and what curses (?) in the city is loosed, and what falls by the way."

In Ellis 5, l. 2, read ביתא (for במיא) and the following word possibly מן דשומיה, and translate—"a house, whatever its name (i. e. whoever owns it), let them read and depart from it (ליקרו ליקרו וליפוקו יתיה), even all who dwell in it—(i. e.) any vows," etc.; that is, the evil spirits are to read the *kamea* and depart. The jussive with ל is exceptional.

For the bowl edited by Rodwell, Halévy, Chwolson and Schwab, I give the following transliteration: כל חרשין בישין ועובדין תקיפין ולוטתא ונידרי ואשלמתא ומללתא דרחיקין ודקריבין דליליא ודימאמא דגברי ודינשי דעבדו[3] ליה ודעבדין ליה לברחאי ולחיותיה[4] ולקינניה דכוליהון בדלאלה מן יומה דנן ועד עלם וכולהון אילין ואילין משמתין ומנידין[5] גזירין ותבירין עקירין ומפקין ומבטלין מן גופיהון ומן כל הדמי קומתיהון ומן מדרתיהון דחיותיה ודברחאי ועמיה (for דברחאי ודעמיה) בדלאלה על אורח חוצי אוי[6]. So much is clear.—Then follows an apostrophe to a certain star, which appears also in Schwab E. With this parallel to our aid I read: אוי כוכבא דעליה רכיבא אסות ניהוא[7] מלפא חרשי לחרשיתא: i. e. "Oh (or, woe), the star on which rides salvation (healing),[8] the one which teaches arts to witches;" that is, some star potent in medicine and black arts, which may be invoked for good or evil.—Towards the end is to be read: בישמיה בר מסוסיא שמא רבא מפורש. "in the name of Bar Mesôsiâ (a master-conjurer evidently), the great Ineffable Name."

For Schwab E, see notes on the bowl just discussed.—In the middle of the inscription for חרמי קומתיה, read הדמי ק'.

[3] Perfect, followed by futuritive ppl.

[4] Not an Arabism, as Halévy suggests.

[5] Pael pass. ppl.

[6] A Syriac interjection; or do these characters belong to חוצי? In the parallel, Schwab E, we have חוציא ל.

[7] Cf. the Rabbinic ניהו.

[8] Cf. *Mal.* 3: 20.

A new collation might contribute much to the understanding of Schwab F. In l. 1, שרירי ("strong one") is an epithet of the "evil spirit." Read אשבעית at end of line.—L. 2, read עליבי אנתי אנפרת, אנ' being the name of the demon, and occurring again below.—L. 3, read כמשחא, "like oil they (the spirits) are dipped into the vessel of his heart," i. e., the man's inwards are suffused with diseases as with oil.—L. 9 again הדמי for חרמי.—L. 10, תהומי for תחומי.—L. 11, עד גמירו זמן ואדן דאכא בינא: "(ye angels go forth from him) until the consummation of time and that time is known,"—with reference to the day of judgment.

In Schwab G, l. 9, עלמא קלה שמעית ונ' = "wherefore have I heard a voice? I have heard the voice of a man, Mešarsiâ," etc.

Schwab I, l. 1, read פתיכרי ופתי[כ]רן נוקבתא.—L. 5, בישוף מומין, "sorcery I exorcise."—L. 12, read רשים שמא ונ': "inscribed is the name whereby heaven and earth are bound."

The transliteration of Schwab M is almost untranslatable. As the first word read מומינא, "I adjure," which disposes of one of Schwab's proofs that these bowls were used in hydromancy.

In Berlin Museum no. 2416, l. 4 (Stübe = Wohlstein, l. 5)[9] and repeatedly below, דלטיתהון = "whom I have cursed." In l. 20, etc. the demons are bidden to depart from the sorcerer's client and transfer themselves to any persons he has cursed.—For דביה, l. 6 (W. 8), see below, to 2:2, and for דיהביה = "of Yahwe," l. 15 (W. 22), see 13:7 and 26:4.—על רזא, l. 22 (W. 31) = "on ground of, in the name of the Mystery."

In Wohlstein, no. 2422, l. 16, טעותא is plural of the Targumic טעו, "false deity;" the same plural is meant in טעתא, no. 2426, l. 5.—In no. 2417, ll. 3, 6, for דבתי read רבתי. Then אמי רבתי = "my grandmother," and אלהתא ר' = "the great goddess."

[9] Stübe's text is much the better.

II. SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE

§ 4. Introductory

In the following notes I shall confine myself almost entirely to the bowls at Pennsylvania. The absence of facsimiles or of good ones in a large number of the published texts prevents a proper control over those texts. Moreover there is some advantage in confining the study to a single collection of texts whose age and provenance can be exactly fixed as in the case of the bowls from Nippur. At the same time what is true of these texts is found to hold good for other published inscriptions.

Our material may be divided epigraphically and dialectically into three classes: (1) Of the "Rabbinic" dialect in the square character; (2) of a Syriac dialect, in a novel form of Estrangelo script; (3) of the Mandaic dialect in its peculiar alphabet. Bowl inscriptions of the first and third classes have been published; but so far no Syriac text has appeared with the exception of one essay noted p. 16 and in § 6.

Some apology may be necessary for the term "Rabbinic" dialect. As used here, it does not imply that the rabbis or the Jews in Babylonia had a special dialect,—they spoke the native dialects; nor that there is any unity in the language of the Talmud, which is alive with dialectic varieties.[1] But the Talmud is practically our only source for a certain family of Aramaic dialects in Babylonia, easily distinguished from the two other literary dialects, the Syriac (Edessene) and Mandaic. The name chosen is a convenient handle.[2]

[1] Our texts themselves, as the discussion will show, are frequently of non-Jewish origin.

[2] "Babylonian" or the old-fashioned "Chaldaic," might be used, but each is equally indefinite and the former would be most confusing.

§ 5. The Rabbinic Texts

A. Script and Orthoepy

Ellis, who made the first attempt at decipherment of bowls in the square character, was inclined to find in them a very primitive script, antedating the Christian era.[1] Levy proceeded in a scholarly fashion and analyzed each character—to be sure, with rather scanty epigraphical resources;[2] he came to the conclusion that the bowl he was treating was to be assigned to the seventh century. Chwolson severely criticized Levy's method, and on the basis of the palaeographical material in his *Corpus* assigned the bowls of Ellis to various early dates (col. 118). Ellis 1 he assigned to the first Christian century; for three others he gave a graduated chronology, placing them in the second, third and fourth centuries respectively. But Chwolson's own method is somewhat of a *reductio ad absurdum*.[3] It is hazardous to assign a date for these bowls on palaeographical grounds; it is impossible to relate the various variations of script to each other by a chronological scale. For instance the contemporaneous character of many bowls at Nippur is shown by the recurrence of the same persons and families in the texts; indeed the same persons appear in texts of different dialects, yet these inscriptions differ greatly in script. But there is no reason, at least in the Nippur bowls, to assign them to different ages; from the interrelations between them, personal and phraseological, I am inclined to assign them to the same period. Indeed they might all have been written in the same year, so far as palaeography may say anything. The differences are chirographical, not palaeographical. Some of the scribes wrote a neat, even a beautiful hand; but many were written by careless scribes, and many by illiterate ones, probably often by

[1] In Layard, *op. cit.*, 510; so Layard himself for no. 1, p. 525.

[2] *ZDMG*, ix, 474.

[3] See Hyvernat, p. 140, on Levy and Chwolson's arguments.

laymen, who affected to write their own prescriptions. The comparative plate of characters presented by Levy offers a large number of variations in the forms of many letters: for ב and ר eleven each, for ט eight, for כ and ש six, etc. Now when one short text offers so many varieties in forms, it is impossible for palaeography to give any nice chronological estimate. In fact the ruder the letters are, the more archaic they appear; yet they may be mere degenerations of the standard type or survivals of an elder one persisting in obscure quarters.

One need but take a glance at Euting's alphabetic tables at the end of Chwolson's *Corpus* to recognize that the Hebrew square character has remained essentially the same since near the beginning of the era. The earlier evidence is drawn from monuments, the later from manuscripts, while in the long centuries of scribal reproduction the Jews have developed as it were a conventional *ductus,* whereas earlier there was far more room for variation when this family of the alphabet was not confined as a vehicle of a school of religious scribes. Thus נ is one of the most Protean of forms, but apparently all varieties are found in almost every century of the first millennium, according to Euting's showing.

In the palaeographical table attached to this work I give specimen alphabets drawn from the bowls. But a fine analysis for chronological results would be unprofitable. For a round date the bowls might be placed on palaeographical grounds at about 500 A. C., but this date might be carried further back or further down according as other evidence might be adduced.

The finial letters are used, but with few instances of finial צ. A phenomenon that presents some difficulty is the practical identification of ו and י and of ה and ח. In the case of the former pair, they are often distinguished, the י being then represented by a short stroke or sometimes by a small angle, the ו by a long stroke; but there is no consistency in this differentiation, and the י is easily prolonged into a stroke like ו; within the same text or line or even word, the י may be written both ways. This confusion has led to the barbarous appearance of many of the edited texts, on which Nöldeke has animadverted.[4] The confusion throws doubts on certain vocalizations,—e. g. is it שובטא or שיבטא?—and it is of grammatical

[4] *Zeits. f. Keilschriftforsch.*, ii, 296.

moment in the verbal endings ן and ין, where, because of the recession of the stroke of the ן, the vowel letters are not at all distinguished.

There is no distinction between ח and ה in the Nippur bowls, and the same is true of the other published bowls, so far as I can observe. The ח includes ה. It is the same phenomenon that appears in the Mandaic, where ה has been retained only as a pronominal suffix. This identification is the representation of actual speech, in which our scribes no longer distinguished between the two gutturals, even as in the Mandaic. As the Babylonian Talmud distinguished between them in its text, we may surmise that the better educated preserved the difference at least in spelling.[5]

The final *â*-vowel is expressed by א, less frequently by ה. Some texts use the latter consistently, and there is hardly a text which does not give an instance of this spelling. It is used regularly for certain common words, e. g. לילי; and especially when the word contains an א, e. g. אנה, אפרה. This is a primitive type of Aramaic orthoepy, but the Samaritan dialect has preserved it, and an early Palestinian amulet, published by me elsewhere, shows the same features.[6] The phenomenon is unique in late Eastern Aramaic.

The vowel letters ו and י are used abundantly, always in terminal syllables and for long vowels, and very commonly for short vowels. Yet there is variation in this respect, even in the same text. On the whole א is sparingly used as a vowel letter, preferably to indicate the feminine plural, e. g. לילי, yet indistinguishable לילי is as frequent.

It goes without saying that there are no vowel points. In one bowl (No. 13) a kind of pothook has been used to separate words, and here and there a point has been used, but this is the extent of the punctuation. Sometimes a scoring is found between the lines of script and by means of vertical lines phrases are blocked off; these are generally magical combinations. In No. 22 one word is written in a clumsy Syriac script and in one of Ellis's bowls a Syriac ח is once used. Quite a peculiar script is found in No. 30, and פ has a unique form in No. 22.

[5] In the elder type of ה, the left leg was attached to the upper bar, hence the confusion with ח was easier. The Rabbis preferred this form; see *Men.* 29b. The close assimilation of the two letters appears in the Assouan papyri of the fifth century B. C.

[6] *JAOS,* 1911, 272.

B. The Language

The grammatical phenomena in the bowls from Nippur can for the most part be exemplified from the Babylonian Talmud, and like the latter they present various dialectic types. On the one hand they have close connections with Mandaic and on the other they show some Syriac idioms.

As in the Mandaic orthoepy the *šewā* is frequently designated by י, a circumstance which throws light upon the minor vocalizations. I may notice ביתיהון, אימיהון, "their mother, house," etc.; ניקיבתא, pl., אילהא; with prefixes: ביפתכרי; לימרומא; דישמלהון, "their left hand;" and with ו, ויבנתא, "and daughters;" וילשלהבון, וידלא (a punctuation appearing also in Targum Onkelos, see to 3: 3).

In the consonants there is the yielding of the harder sounds, e. g. איספנדרמיד, איסכופתא, varying with איסק', איצ'; indeed צ has become a very rare character. In general the gutturals are preserved, though ה and ח are no longer distinguished. In one bowl, No. 6, which has other Mandaizing characteristics, are found אוא = עוא, ניפקא, √ פקע; ניבר, √ עבר. The same bowl offers תישילטון, with the intrusion of a new vowel, as is particularly characteristic of Mandaic.[1]

For the pronouns I may refer to the lists at end of Glossary C. For their suffixal forms may be noted בניה, 2: 4, and even בנה, 11: 9 (etc), "his sons," עלה = עלוהי in duplicate texts (see to 11: 9), as common in Mandaic, and appearing also in the Talmud. For the 2nd per. pl. fem. כי- is used for כין-(see to 7: 3).

The masculine plural is in י- and ין- indifferently, even in close association. טוריא 8: 6 and the nouns in 13: 1 ending in יה are probably Mandaic forms of spelling, *ê*.

As for the verb, along with י as dominant prefix in the impf., נ takes its place in Nos. 6, 13 (along with two cases in י), 19, 25, 28. A Nifal with Aramaic ending appears in 25: 2, נסתרתו, along with the ppl. ניסתרין. In 28: 1 appears a Syriac Ethpai'al, נישתיחן. The ת of the reflexive is rarely lost, yet e. g. תירחקון, תיחתמון.

The 1st pers. sing. appears as קטלת or קטלית, for a verb of *i*-stem we have סליקית. There is found a perfect plural, אישתכחון, as in Syriac.

[1] Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 25.

Second feminine plurals, which are lacking in the Talmud, are found; unfortunately as the notes show, it is not always possible to decide whether a form is singular or plural, and there is the awkward confusion of -ין and -ין. In 6: 9 תיתכבשון is certainly plural, and doubtless the masculine plural termination (as in Hebrew) is to be understood in preference to *-in,* which would be the singular. It is uncertain whether שקוכי, 11: 8, 26: 6, is fem. singular or plural; in the duplicate text to No. 11, the plural is evident.

For the few cases of the quiescence of ע in verbal forms, see above. In פ"א roots we have, e. g., אתאסרו, תיתסי. Unique is the final loss of the ל of אזל in the participal form אוינא, 6: 6. For forms of הוא we have תיהוי, תיהי (both in the same text), spelt elsewhere תהוי, תהי. The masc. plural of the participle appears as הון, הוי; cf. מחן, רמן, from מחא, רמא.

As to the prepositions there is the interchange of ל and על, as in Mandaic. Also observe the occurrence in the same line of קדמוהי and קדאמיה, 3: 7.

There is almost nothing peculiar in the syntax. I note the occurrence of an old-Aramaic idiom in ביתלהון, "their house," 1: 6; also the unique idiom, if the text is correct,— ו- ועים, "and also," 1: 3 (cf. Latin, *simul ac*).

[8] See Levias, *Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom Contained in the Bab. Talmud,* § 188.

§ 6. The Syriac Texts

In our collection appear seven bowls of Syriac script and language,—the first of this category to be published with the exception of the poor facsimile of a probably similar bowl, accompanied with an unintelligible transliteration, in Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon,* p. 521 f.[1]

A. Script and Orthoepy

The script reveals itself as belonging to the Palmyrene-Syriac type, and that we are dealing not with a mere autographic "sport" is clear from the fact that two or three hands have written our seven texts. It agrees with the Palmyrene and Edessene in pointing ר, and with the former in not distinguishing ד. The Seyâmê or double points are used; this mark is generally written on the last letter, but occasionally, generally for reasons of space, on an earlier character. Once the two points are written vertically, 33: 5; they may include the points of ר, and in 34: 6 ר appears to have the two points one above and one below. The script provides the pronominal fem. suffix ה with an upper point, an ancient distinction in literary Syriac.[2] But there is marked distinction from the Edessene type in the absence of ligature; letters may touch one another, but they are not purposely written together.

In examining the individual characters (see my Alphabetic Tables) we find that ג, ז, ח, ע agree with the types of the Estrangelo alphabet, and ב and מ approximate the latter; but evidently our novel alphabet has had a history independent of Estrangelo.

[1] Chwolson thinks that the script of this bowl is of older type than that of the Edessene MS. of 411 (*CIH,* col. 116).

[2] In 34: 4 מושא, "Moses," is written with a point over א —to represent the *ê* sound?

It reveals a family likeness with the types found in early Edessene inscriptions[3] (where the characters are independent and no points used). But the genealogy for the peculiarities of our script is to be found in the cursive Palmyrene script, with which the Estrangelo is also to be connected. See Euting's alphabetic tables, cols. 17-28, in Chwolson *CIH;* his tables in Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik;* the atlas to Lidzbarski's *Handbuch z. nordsem. Epigraphik,* and for the history of the cursive Edessene script, the latter work, p. 193.

This relationship appears in ב (n. b. the curving stroke of the head); in ה (the type in No. 36 is identical with the Palmyrene); in ו (with the head at almost a right angle); in ח (our character is practically identical with the Estrangelo, but the origin of the type is to be found in Palmyrene, and a type in No. 32 is the replica of the angular form presented by Euting, col. 26); in ט; in י reduced to a small stroke or coarse round mark on the line; in ל (with parallels in Euting's table only in cursive Palmyrene, see cols. 24-28); in מ, which tends to a closed figure, and ם; in פ (a small half-oval figure, primitive in form, corresponding most closely to the cursive Palmyrene); in ק; in ש (preserving the ancient type against the Edessene development). צ is not found.

Of the remaining letters, ר is distinguished from ד by the diacritical point as in Palmyrene, but the figure of both characters faces to the right, a unique phenomenon. The character כ is unique, with its long curve extending far to the left, so that this feature becomes the characteristic and the head degenerates to a point;[4] but here again the Palmyrene type may be compared. The letter נ is *sui generis,* the medial character may be related to the Palmyrene; the finial with its long stroke recalls the Estrangelo finial נ, but terminates in a fork. ת also stands by itself. There is a general resemblance between it and the Syriac types presented by Euting, in Nöldeke, cols. viii-xiii, representing the fifth to the seventh century. But those Syriac forms have arisen from the tendency to ligature, whereas our ת is innocent of any such purpose. I am inclined to think

[3] E. g. Sachau, "Edessenische Inschriften," *ZDMG,* 1882, 142; n. b. no. 8.

[4] The nearest approach to this type appears in a similar character with a long tail in the Syriac MS. from Turkestan published by Sachau in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1905, 964.

that it is to be related to a rather primitive form of ת which consisted of a downward stroke to the left with a crosspiece near the top. Our type has simply reversed this, making the stroke downwards to the right, while the crosspiece comes at the bottom.

This analysis of the script presented in our Syriac bowls exhibits accordingly an older type than the literary Estrangelo and the Edessene inscriptions; its most pronounced relationships are with the cursive Palmyrene, and it is to be regarded as an independent sister of the Edessene script. Withal no character shows a distinctly late type.

Epigraphically then this script is of much interest, as exhibiting an early local form of Aramaic alphabet, of Palmyrene type, existing in Babylonia. It may have been a commercial script which spread from the metropolis Palmyra.[5] In § 14 the age of the bowls will be discussed; the script itself does not stand in the way of an early age, perhaps the fourth century, though other evidence may induce us to date the texts some centuries later.

Since the above paragraphs were finished and regarded as closed, my attention has chanced upon the Turkish Manichaean fragments from Turfan in Chinese Turkestan, and I find a striking resemblance in many characters of the alphabet there used (which is an offshoot of the Syriac script) to those of the Syriac type before us. I may refer here to the discussion of the script by F. W. K. Müller in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1904, 348 ff., and the facsimiles published in subsequent volumes of the same journal, e. g. that facing p. 1077, in the volume for 1905. In my Alphabetic Tables at the end of this work I shall present the correspondence in parallelism. The Turkish script is very much younger than ours, but has steadfastly preserved the type inherited from Babylonia. Mani came from Babylon, a few miles distant from Nippur, and we must suppose that our script was the local use of that region, which came to be adopted by Mani and his sect as the vehicle of their literature.

[5] It may be worth while to suggest that we possess in this peculiar script the script of the Harranian pagans, vulgarly known as the Sabians. As Chwolson has shown in his monumental work, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, these heathens spoke a pure Syriac (i, 258 f.), although the peculiar alphabets assigned to them by Arabic writers are fictitious or kabbalistic (ii, 845).

The history of our script is thereby carried back to the third century, by which time it was well established. What was thus a local script came to be perpetuated as the literary instrument of the Manichaean sect,—a fate which has so often happened to various forms of the Aramaic alphabet. I have given further discussion of this matter in articles now in press for the *Museum Journal* and the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. It may be added that there are no Manichaean traces in the bowls.

In the matter of orthoepy, while the forms without *matres lectionis* abundantly appear (e. g. לִיליתָא, plural; פתנמא, etc.), *plene* writings are also frequent, e. g. מלאכא, אימא, מיתקרא, תיזה, חילמא, כאסא, etc. There also occurs at times the confusion of ה and ח, characteristic in the square Aramaic texts and in the Mandaic: ה for ח in מהילין 31: 5, תיזה 38: 3, פרהיא 32: 4; and ח for ה in איחמחתהון and אבחתהון 36: 5, איתחפיך 36: 1. The same sorcerer or family appears to have written bowls in both the Rabbinic and Syriac dialects (see Nos. 33-35), and hence the natural contamination of the one by the other.

The extensive use of the *Seyâmê* in all plurals is to be noted: in the pronoun הלין 31: 5, the plural of the verb e. g. נחין 31: 6, the participle אתין 37: 8, etc.

B. The Language

The dialect belongs to the Edessene type; this is evident from the forms of pronouns and verbs. But there is extensive corruption from the type of dialect which has been literarily preserved in the Mandaic. This appears, as we have seen, in the Mandaic confusion of ה and ח. The 3rd sing. masc. or fem. suffix to a plural appears as ה; e. g. בנה, "his sons," 33: 13 (with *Seyâmê*), the same for "her sons" (with single point over ה), עילוה (with *Seyâmê*), 37: 8, etc. We have observed the same phenomenon in the Rabbinic texts.

For other similar Mandaisms we may note: the equivalence of ל and על, 34: 10; the verbal form נעילון (from עלל), 34: 10 (see my comment); the pronoun עילוה, 37: 8; בירא for בעירא, 34: 8, cf. פורא for פוחרא; אבוכון for אובכין, 37: 10; the construct שום, e. g. 34: 6. There are also some peculiar

forms, e. g. חתומין 34: 1, משבונתא 34: 2, סוטיטא 35: 4; and a few rare or unknown words: דיאבולא (*διάβολοι*), דסתבירא, דרמנא. The numeral with the suffix תרויהון 34: 4, is not classical, but is found in Targumic, Palmyrene, and Neo-Syriac. In 33: 10 לאפקבון is Afel infinitive of נפק.

§ 7. The Mandaic Texts

A. Script and Orthoepy

The script of the Mandaic bowls is exactly similar to that of those published in facsimile by Pognon. The peculiarities of certain characters distinguishing them from those in the MSS. of the fifteenth and following centuries, as noted by that scholar (*Une incantation,* 12 f.), appear likewise in these bowls.[1]

The ב is a large letter dropping its shaft obliquely below the line and recovering itself by an up-stroke at an acute angle. ג is a zigzag figure, or has an open, round flourish at the top. Following the traditions of the early alphabet ד and ר are similar, often indistinguishable; the former tends to a smaller head and a square angle at the top, the latter to a curving form like the end of a loop. ז is ligated at the top with the preceding letter. ח has, in Nos. 39, 40, a long leg to the right. ט appears in angular form, and also in a balloon-shaped figure. כ is a large letter rising well above and dropping below the line, sometimes in a free curve. Except that the drop is vertical, it is similar to ב; we may compare the like similarity in the Palmyrene. In No. 39 ל has the primitive form of two strokes at an angle, but leaning backward, and so allowing of ligature to the left by the foot. The left foot of מ projects itself obliquely in a straight line, and the extended stroke at the top distinguishes the character from ת. In No. 39, ס has the later form, similar to the Arabic ص; with others, the body is fuller, approximating the ק. ע is generally an angle lying upon the line, but in No. 39 it drops below the line, in two rough curving lines. פ has a large head, but does not drop below the line. צ is not found in these

[1] Compare now the early Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski in the de Vogüé Memorial Volume, p. 349, and the editor's notes, p. 350. His facsimiles are too indistinct to permit satisfactory comparison.

bowls. ק appears as a closed figure, like a roundish Estrangelo ק, with the left stroke failing to reach the upper line and curving back—probably for distinction from ס. The ש consists of two rough loops, which lie on top, or below, or on opposite sides. The ת has often the simple form of the Hebrew ת.

The suffixal ה (which I represent by the same character in my transliteration) occurs at the beginning of No. 38, and is then dropped by the scribe; it may perhaps be intended in one or two other cases in these bowls. Otherwise it cannot be distinguished from א; however, following the general practice I have always indicated the suffix by ה̇. A similar uncertainty of distinction appears in Lidzbarski's amulet; in Pognon's bowls the distinction is generally preserved.

The peculiar sign for the relative, דַ, has the shape known from the MSS., except that the vertical stroke at the left hand is often written without attachment to the first part. It always appears as a separate word, as is the case in Codex B of Petermann's edition of the Ginza, and apparently in Lidzbarski's bowls. I have followed the common editorial use of attaching it, like the Aramaic relative in general, to the following word. See the arguments of Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, 92, for regarding the sign as a peculiar development of ד, not as a ligature of די. But it must be asked why such a special sign should have been used. It appears to be a survival of the older Aramaic די, and I would argue that the pronunciation *di* had survived until the formation of the Mandaic script. In these texts, as in the MSS., the relative when internal (e. g. after ו) is expressed by ד; but this does not prove that דַ = ד, only that with the support of a preceding vowel the vowel of the relative was rejected.

The characters are spaced unevenly and in the case of unligated characters it is often difficult to ascertain with which word they are to be combined. The ligation is haphazard, there is no consistent attempt at consecutive chirography as in the later texts.

Apart from the bowl-inscriptions and Lidzbarski's amulets, all the Mandaic texts are preserved in late texts; the former are therefore important as the earliest monuments of the script. In § 14 I give evidence to prove that the Nippur texts are to be dated *circa* 600; at that period then the Mandaeans had elaborated their own alphabet with its peculiarities.

Investigations, which I may not expatiate on here, have led me to the belief that for the most part the Mandaic alphabet represents an early type of the "Syriac" alphabets; it is indeed often closely connected with the Palmyrene and Nabataean scripts. The sect itself must have arisen in the age when Gnosticism was rife in the Orient and before the domination of Christianity, and we have to suppose that it early developed its own peculiar calligraphy, after the wont of the various oriental sects of that age. Compare the remarks on the Manichaean alphabet, § 6.

As Pognon says of his text from Bismaya,[2] the language of the bowls is identical with that of the Ginza and Ḳulasta. The only difference is formal, in the sparse or varying use of the *matres lectionis*.[3] I may cite: חיוניאתא, תלתמא; עכוריא, 'עי; עמא; חיא; חתמתא, נטרתא, where later א was used in the first or second syllable or both; we actually find זרזתא, 'זא, 'זרא.[4]

B. The Language

We may note the following syntactical peculiarity: the apparent use of the anticipatory pronominal suffix ה without the following relative particle דַ, the suffix itself creating a kind of construct case-ending, the regimen being in apposition to the suffix. E. g. 40: 3: מנלתה פת פתה ב' "the word of B's granddaughter." A similar construction occurs throughout Nos. 21, 22, 23 (*q. v.*); also a parallel instance in the Palestinian amulet published by the writer in *JAOS*, 1911, see note there, p. 278. In 40: 24 such a "construct" form in ה is used before a plural noun: ביניאנה חיואניאתה. Was it in the way of becoming a stereotyped case?

Apart from the references to "Life," these bowls are not specifically Mandaic in religion. Pognon's bowls are much more colored with Mandaeism. Under No. 11 it is to be observed that the Mandaic text there compared is secondary to the Rabbinic texts; probably in the Nippur community the Mandaeans got their magic from the peoples of other dialects. In Pognon's texts the spirit of the ancient Babylonian magic appears more strongly than in any other of the bowl-inscriptions.

[2] *Une incantation*, 13.

[3] Which Pognon strangely enough regards as "errors."

[4] Nöldeke's expert judgment, in his review of Pognon, p. 143, that the language of the bowls is later than that of the Mandaic classics, may be noted here.

III. THE MAGIC OF THE TEXTS

§ 8. The Purpose of the Inscribed Bowls

The incantation bowls belong, with few exceptions, to one very specialized form of magic. They spontaneously suggest the art of "bowl magic," which, in various forms, is spread over the world, and which has a straight genealogy from Joseph's drinking cup to the spinster's teacup of our own day.[1] Ellis, the first commentator on the bowls, advanced the theory that, following an ancient and widespread therapeutic device, they were filled with a liquid which was drunk off by the patient who thus absorbed the virtue of the written charm.[2] This explanation has been generally given up. Layard objected that then the inscriptions would have been effaced by the liquid,[3]—which argument, though repeated by subsequent scholars, is not conclusive, for the magic vessel may have been preserved as itself a permanent prophylactic. Layard himself thought that they were used in places of sepulture and were charms for the dead, apparently relating them to the utensils placed in primitive graves. A number of Pognon's bowls are in fact endorsed with דבית קבוריא, "for the cemetery,"[4] and Wohlstein's no. 2417 appears to be directed against the ghosts of the dead. But the bowls at Nippur were found in ruined houses, and in no case is a bowl intended for the service of the dead.

Schwab argued for the hydromantic use of the bowls.[5] He makes reference to Babylonian hydromancy,[6] and proceeds to quote a number of

[1] Rodwell expatiates on this kind of magic, *TSBA*, ii, 114.

[2] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 511. Cf. R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, pp. lv, lxi.

[3] *Op. cit.*, 526.

[4] *Inscriptions mandaites*, nos. 5, 7, etc., and p. 3.

[5] *PSBA*, xii, 292 f.

[6] Cf. Hunger, "Becherwahrsagung bei d. Babyloniern," 1903 in *Leipziger Semitische Studien*, i.

Talmudic passages referring to Joseph's cup, magical beverages, etc., but he shows no connection between his numerous inscriptions and the method and purpose of hydromancy, which affects to give an oracle to men by the movements of oil or other floating objects in the liquid contained in the cup.[7]

Wohlstein attempted another explanation in the line of a kabbalistic dictum that no work of magic can be effected without the aid of a vessel (כלי).[8] It was Hyvernat however who first, from the field of Jewish demonology, obtained the clue to the right interpretation of the practice we are considering.[9] He refers to the Jewish legends of Solomon's magical ability to confine demons in vases, etc., and the parallel fables in Arabian lore of bottled up jinns, etc.[10] As we shall immediately see, this is the correct explanation.

Pognon did not himself see *in situ* the large collection of bowls which he published in his *Inscriptions mandaites,* but he learnt from a native that such bowls were found buried just below the surface of the earth, and, generally, reversed, the bottom of the bowl uppermost, while at times bowls were found superimposed upon one another, the mouth of the one fitted to the mouth of the other (p. 1 ff.). Pognon does not guarantee the truths of these statements, but suggests in accordance with them the theory that the inverted bowls were prisons for the demons, who were confined by the virtue of the magical praxis. The expeditions of the University of Pennsylvania to Nippur have corroborated this theory by ocular evidence. Referring to the find of bowls above the Parthian temple, Hilprecht reports that "most of the one hundred bowls excavated while I was on the scene were found upside down in the ground,"[11] and he gives a photograph showing some of the bowls in this position. He draws the same conclusion as Pognon concerning the magical use of the vessels.

Finally, one of the Pennsylvania texts demonstrates that this was the conscious purpose of the bowl magic. No. 4 opens thus: מיטלי דלמיכל

[7] For the correction of his hydromantic interpretation of כשוף מומין, see above § 3.

[8] *ZA,* viii, 325, quoting from the book *Raziel,* 32.

[9] *Sur une vase judéo-babylonien,* 137 f.

[10] Comparing *Thousand and One Nights,* ed. Bulak, i, 15 (= Burton's tr. i, 38).

[11] *Explorations,* 447.

מלאכין קדישין וכל רוחי בישתא ונ׳: "covers to hold in sacred (accursed) angels and evil spirits," etc.[12] The same inscription announces to the demons that they are "bound and sealed in each one of the four corners of the house."[13] This magical method in fact gives a special name to the bowls; it is called a כיבשא, which literally means a "press." The same term appears in No. 6, which opens as follows: כיבשא דכבשין להן לשידי ונ׳ "a press which is pressed down upon demons," etc. The theme is continued throughout the text: "This *press* I press down upon them" (l. 4); "who ever transgresses against this *press*" (l. 11), etc. In a word we have to do with a species of sympathetic magic, the inverted bowls symbolizing and effecting the repression and suppression of the evil spirits.[14]

The quadruple use of the bowls also explains the frequent recurrence of identical inscriptions, e. g. Nos. 21, 22, 23, all made out for the same client. The four charms thus placed at equidistant points, which as cornerstones represented the security of the house, formed a circle of magical influence about the dwelling.[15]

In the Babylonian magic we find a similar use of phylacteries buried under the pavement of the house. Botta, Layard and George Smith discovered under the pavement of buildings small receptacles in which were placed magical figurettes, of composite human and animal form.[16] The use of the circular lip of the bowl is also in line with the magic circle which appears to have been practised by sprinkling a circle of lime, flour, etc. around a group of small images of the gods.[17]

[12] See the commentary to the text.

[13] The binding at the four corners of the house appears also in Pognon, B, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 24.,

[14] If my interpretation of the introduction of Nos. 9 and 14 be correct, we have also a reference to the formal depositing of the bowls.

[15] Cf. the cylinder and prism texts deposited at the four corners of great buildings in ancient Mesopotamia.

[16] Botta, *Monument de Nineve,* v, 168 f.; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains,* ii, 37; Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries,* 78. See Fossey, *La magie assyrienne,* 114 f. For a like Jewish and Christian use, see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 30.

[17] Zimmern, *Beiträge z. Kenntniss d. bab. Religion,* 169, no. 54, and cf. Thompson, *Semitic Magic,* p. lxiii, translating *uṣurtu* "circle" (Zimmern, "Gebilde"). Cf. the charm with a circle made by a ring presented in the Papyrus Anastasi, Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften,* hist-phil. Classe, xxxvi, 2, p. 34, and further *PSBA,* xiii, 165. The circle of the magical seal possessed the same efficacy.

But there is proof that the praxis of bowl magic existed in ancient Babylonia. In a passage of the magical *Utukki* series presented by Thompson,[18] we read a ban on an evil spirit: (a demon) "which roameth loose in an upper chamber, with a bason (*kakkultu*) without opening may they cover it." The editor in his note has recognized the form of magic indicated, without comparing it to the later bowls.[19]

The bowl is then primarily a domestic phylactery, to be classed with the abundant forms of this species of magic, e. g. the Jewish Mezuzoth. An exorcism given by Wessely[20] from the papyri recalls much of the very wording of our texts: that evil spirits may not injure the wearer of these exorcisms, hide not "in the earth,"[21] nor under the bed nor under the door nor under the gate nor under the beams nor under vessels nor under holes. The lurking of devils in the house (e. g. 1: 6), in the beams and on the thresholds (e.g.6:4), frequently appears in our texts, as also in the Talmud, Especially is the threshold named as guarded against the intrusions of evil spirits (e. g. 37: 2). The means of entrance are extravagantly detailed in a Babylonian text: by gate, door, bolt, etc., lintels, hinges, etc.;[22] and door and bolt and threshold are exorcised.[23] The bedchamber is the special object of care, and the endorsement on No. 12, "of the room of the hall," may refer to a bowl which was deposited in that apartment.

A different application of the same magic is found in the bowls published by Pognon, which were found in a cemetery, many of them being inscribed "for the cemetery" (דבית קבוריא). This is the worldwide practice of laying the graveyard ghosts. I am inclined to think that duplicate inscriptions were made out, some for the house and some for the

[18] *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia,* ii, 124.

[19] I must leave it open whether the phrase in *B. Meṣ.* 29b (= *Ḥull.* 84b), כסא דחרשין ולא כסא דפשרין (the last word is variously spelt), is a reference to our magical art; it could be translated "the cup of the sorcerers and not the cup of those who break sorcery," i. e. of bowls used for malicious (cf. § 12) or for preventive magic. *Tanḥuma* makes the second cup mean an ill-prepared brew which is ground for divorce; see Levy, *Hwb.,* iv, 151a.

[20] *Denkschriften,* xlii, 2, p. 66.

[21] Was there a duplicate buried in the house?

[22] Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens,* i, 377, where the full translation is given.

[23] E. g. Tallquist, *Maqlu,* p. 93, l. 10; Thompson, *Devils,* ii, 123.

graveyard; this would explain the reference to the four corners of the house in Pognon, nos. 1, 2, etc. None of the Nippur bowls are so marked. Wohlstein's bowl no. 2417 is a detailed exorcism of ghosts.

But Nos. 13 and 28 pass from prophylactic to aggressive magic; they are love charms such as we meet in an early age only in the Greek world. I leave their consideration to the commentary, and only note here that a love charm is as much a *κατάδεσμος* or *defixio,* to use the words of classical magic, as a ban of evil spirits. It is interesting to note that the Greek charms for *defixing* a rival in the circus or a lover were often buried in cemeteries, for the powers of evil were in any case invoked.[24]

The bowl itself is called simply, כסא or כוסא, also occasionally קמיעה amulet = *φυλακτήριον*, applied secondarily to a phylactery that is not suspended or worn (√ קמע).[25] For other terms applied to it as a magical instrument, see § 11.

The tradition of this species of bowl-magic has lasted down into Islam, to fairly modern times. In his *Monumens arabes, persans et turcs,* Paris, 1828, Reinaud has given (ii, 337 ff.) a careful description of several Arabic magical bowls of brass and glass, contained at his day in private French collections and at the Vatican. They are talismans (to quote one of the bowls) against snakes, scorpions and dogs, against fever, pangs of childbirth and maladies of nursing, enteric diseases, sorcery and dysentery.[26] They are introduced "in the name of the merciful and compassionate God" (cf. the similar formula in our texts, e. g. 3 : 1 and note), and are elaborately provided with quotations from the Koran and with references to holy legend and the power of God (cf. § 11). One reference indicates that they were inscribed at the propitious astrological moment, cf. below, § 11.

This is the only literary reference to bowls of this character I have been able to discover. In the possession of the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia is a small, finely engraved brass bowl, with Koran quotations in Nashki. The text has been translated by Dr. B. B. Charles, Fellow of

[24] E. g. the Cypriote charms published by Miss L. Macdonald, *PSBA,* xiii, 159, and the Hadrumetum tablet, discussed in No. 28.

[25] See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen,* 87, and "Amulet" in *Jewish Encyc.*

[26] So in Schwab L and Q charms against dog-bites, and a reference to scorpions is found in Pognon B; see Glossary C, *s. v.* עקרב.

the University, who has kindly allowed me to present his rendering, as follows:

"This blessed bowl wards off all poisons, and in it are assembled tried virtues; and it is for the sting of the serpent and the scorpion, for fever, for dysentery (?), for indigestion, for the mad dog, for stomachache and colic, for headache and throbbing, for fever of the liver and spleen, for facial contortions, for lack of blood (insufficient blood supply), for annulling magic, and for the eye and the sight, and for use in giving to drink of water or oil, or for harm to enemies and for poison in the conclave of (two) lands, when the imâms of the religion and the orthodox caliphs are thereon agreed for the advantage of the Muslims."

Probably many such phylacteries are to be found in oriental households. Evidently the peculiar practice of the inversion of the bowl has disappeared; the vessel itself with its magical inscription has become "blessed," an efficient phylactery. But the use of the bowl is doubtless a survival of the magic we are discussing.

§ 9. The Exorcists

The exorcist is in general anonymous; his personality is lost in his professional possession of occult powers which range far above personal limitations. By the age of our texts he had long been differentiated from the temple priest, or maintained connection with a cult only in out-of-the-way shrines or in the new theosophic circles that sprang up in the Hellenistic age.[1] A few points however may be noted.

Several of the Nippur texts[2] contain magical formulas worked in the name of Rabbi Joshua ben Perahia (Syriac, Rab Jesus bar P.), who is none other than one of the early Zugoth or Pairs who handed down the Tradition from the Great Synagogue to later ages (see to No. 32). Whether this magical tradition concerning the venerable Joshua be authentic may be dubious;[3] but the case is illustrative of the tendency in magic to appeal to ancient great masters of sorcery, and to use their names as though their full powers were possessed. We may compare the many references in the magical papyri to such ancient masters, whose spells have become the stock in trade of their successors.[4] The assumption of these quacks is well illustrated by a Jewish mortuary charm in which the magician thus introduces himself: "With the wand of Moses and the plate of Aaron and the seal of Solomon and the shield of David and the mitre

[1] For the Babylonian *âšipu* and *mašmašu,* see Zimmern, *Beiträge,* 91; Thompson, *Semitic Magic,* 21.

[2] Nos. 8, 9, 17, 32, 33, 34.

[3] For the Talmudic doctors and others who practised "legitimate" magic, see Blau, *Das altjüdische, Zauberwesen,* 23. In 34: 2 the sorcerer claims to be a "cousin" of Joshua and there is reference to his "house," i. e. school in 8: 11. Compare the inherited magical powers of Choni the Circle-maker, *Taan.,* 19b, 23.

[4] See the list of such magical authorities in Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften,* xxxvi, 2, p. 37; cf. xlii, 2, p. 10 (I shall hereafter refer to these volumes simply as xxxvi and xlii). Also Apuleius gives a similar list, including Moses, xc, 100, l. 10 (ed. Helm), see Abt, "Die Apologie des Apuleius," 244, in Dieterich and Wünsch, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche v. Vorarbeiten,* iv, 2.

of the chief priest" (I perform this spell);[5] and this Palestinian charm has its parallel in our text No. 2: "I Pabak come, clad in iron and fire, vested with garments of Hermes the Logos, and my strength is in him who created heaven and earth." In 7: 12 the authority of Prangin bar Prangin is exercised—some sorcerer of the hazy past, if not a figment of the imagination. 'The great Abbahu' in l. 9 is to be explained in the same way, if it is not a misunderstanding of a Gnostic term, and so too Barmeštael in l. 13, literally the 'son of the oracle-giver.' In some cases, e. g. the latter two and instances in No. 19, it is difficult to decide whether we have to do with men or divinities; the line was not drawn between the sorcerer and the deity, as in the Hermetic identification of Moses with Hermes[6] and in the lively incident in *Acts* 14, where the people of Lystra deify Barnabas and Paul.

In one case, the pagan text No. 36, the exorcist presents his commission from the deities: "The lord Shamash has sent me against thee, Sina (the moon) has sent me, Bel has commanded me, Nannai has said to me..... Nirig has given me power." This is the survival of well known old Babylonian formulas, e. g. the *Maḳlu* series, i, l. 52 ff:[7] "Anu and Antu have commissioned me, ... I am ordered, I go, I am sent, I speak, Against the might of my sorcerers Marduk the lord of incantation has sent me."

I am inclined to think that some of the texts, especially the more illiterate ones, were written by lay people. The "word of power" had become the essential element (see § 11), and like a physician's prescription might be copied by anyone, or even invented—for along with the belief in sorcery always goes a subconsciousness of its hocus-pocus. For instance, No. 2 is a mutual charm in which two men, in the respective halves of the text, exercise each his powers for the other. Are they

[5] Montgomery, *JAOS*, 1911, 272. For the identification with Moses cf. the Hermetic phrase, *ἐγώ εἰμι Μωσῆς*, Wessely, xxxvi, 129, l. 109 ff.; also see Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 68, and Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 279. For the Egyptian use, cf. the Harris papyrus, "I am Amon," Brugsch, *Religion u. Mythologie d. alt. Aegypter*, 725. Or the sorcerer may identify himself with some mighty demon; e. g. *Giṭṭ.*, 69a, "I am Papi Shila son of Sumka," cf. Blau, *op. cit.* 83. Also cf. 27: 9 with 2: 6.

[6] Dieterich, *l. c.*

[7] Tallquist, p. 37. Cf. the commission of the Old Testament prophets, e. g. *Jer.* i, and the adoption of soothsaying formulas; cf. *Num.* 24: 4 and *Is.* 50: 4.

professional magicians or not rather laymen who felt they could make a stronger defence against the powers of evil by standing shoulder to shoulder? The texts are often indited in the first person, e. g. Pognon 24; in No. 27 the clients of No. 7 appear as making the charm, and use the form of No. 2. But in general there is a breaking down of the distinction between personalities in magic; compare the Babylonian rituals, in which priest and suppliant appear to fuse in one another.

In one place Wohlstein calls attention to what appears to be an attestation of the incantation, inserted into the middle of the text.[8] The obscure passage is: קימא דהוא כתיב לי אנן הכא ידעינן אותו. It may be translated: "It is correct for it has been written for me (or קי = קמיעא?), we recognize it here." Cf. the attestations of the scribe in the Babylonian magical texts, e. g. the *Maḳlu* series.

[8] *ZA*, ix, 36.

§ 10. The Clients

Most of the inscriptions are of domestic character, being made out for a married couple, their children, their house, and their property, cattle, etc. Frequently it is the wife and mother who procures the charm, with or without reference to the husband. In many of the inscriptions there is special intention against the evils that disturb the domestic sexual life. And so No. 36 gives an exorcism for the bridal-chamber, No. 24 is a charm for the safe delivery of a pregnant woman. The bed-chamber is often specified (בית מישכבא). There is frequent reference to the demons that slay the unborn babes (e. g. Nos. 36, 37), the charm is often made out for the children that shall be, as well as for those that are. It would seem that where women are concerned, the greater part of magic has to do with the mysteries and maladies of the sexual life. The Lilis and Liliths which predominate in the categories of demons are personifications of sexual abnormalities.

At times the idea of the family is extended to a wider scope, so as to include a large household; No. 29 is a good example; from the long list of male names enumerated, some of them of foreigners, it appears that the woman who procured the charm was landlady of a lodging house. On the other hand sometimes a single individual feels that a whole bowl is necessary for his own maladies; so in the case of the invalid who is the client of Schwab's bowl F.

As the individuals must be exactly specified we have a rich list of names, which is enlarged by the required naming of the mother, more rarely the father of the client.[1] In the Rabbinic texts we find the Aramaic names

[1] *Shabb.* 66b: כל מנייני בשמא דאימא: "all repetitive incantations are in name of the mother." The "sacred" name of a person includes that of his mother with the Mandaeans (Brandt. *Mand. Religion,* 116). The same rule appears in the Greek magic; see Wünsch *Antike Fluchtafeln* (Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte,* no. 20), p. 9 for examples and literary references. The practice is now attributed to the original

familiar in the Talmud, etc., Persian names, probably more frequent than the former, and but few typical Jewish names. In the Syriac and Mandaic texts the names are by a large majority Persian.[2] My texts contain one evidently Greek name, אסטרובא, Astrobas, and a Christian name, בת סהדא, Martyrofilia; the former is paralleled in a text of Lidzbarski's by טימאתיוז, Timotheos, the latter by סעבריא ליעשו, 'His-hope-in-Jesus' in a text of Pognon's. Some of the names of obscure etymology may be of Indian origin; cf. the frequent name Hinduitha.

The large proportion of Persian names even in the Rabbinic texts might lead us to think that the clients were non-Jewish. The argument is somewhat fallacious as the Jews by no means stickled for their native names, in fact seem to have adopted foreign names with great avidity.[3] And so in one family of nine souls the names are Persian, and only one son bears a Jewish name (No. 12). But as we shall have reason to conclude (§ 15), the magic of our bowls is so eclectic that even a "Jewish"-Aramaic text does not imply a Jewish exorcist, nor Jewish clients. We have to think of a *clientèle* partly Jewish, partly non-Jewish, to which the religious affinities of the magic were indifferent.

But the power of the charms is also extended beyond the actual house and its inmates so as to include the whole property of the client. Not only are house and mansion detailed, but also the cattle and possessions in general (קנינא). In like manner Greek phylacteries provide a general property insurance, e. g. that the demons "shall not injure or approach N. or M. or his house or his vineyards or lands or cattle."[4]

matriarchal condition of society rather than to the elder principle, *pater incertus, mater certa.* Naming of the father probably occurs where the mother is unknown; for instances see to 10: 1.

[2] See Glossary B; also Pognon, B, p. 97.

[3] See Zunz. "Die Namen d. Juden," in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* ii.

[4] Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 294; such charms are frequent in the Graeco-Italian exorcisms published by Pradel, in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten,* iii, no. 3. For amulets worn by cattle, see Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen,* 86.

§ 11. The Incantations.

I have discussed in § 8 the particular praxis of our magic—the inversion of the inscribed bowl. There remain for consideration many details, for elaborateness is characteristic of magic and even in our comparatively simple field there are many phenomena which are suggestive links binding it with more complicated magical science.

Magic consists of two elements: the physical operation or praxis, and the incantation, or to use the Egyptian term, "the word of power."[1] They are distinguished in the Babylonian as the *epešu "work"* (also *kikittu*[1a]), and the *šiptu,* words which appear rubrically in the magical texts. In the Greek the terms for the practice are πρᾶγμα, πρᾶξις, χρεῖαι; for the incantation (ἱερὸς) λόγος.[2] So in Latin *facere* is the word for the operation, and it has had an interesting history through *factura, fattura, feitigo* (Portuguese), into *fetich.*

The same distinction and similar terms are found in our magic. The root עבד, "work, serve"[3] (late Hebrew עשה (cf. 14: 1), מעשה) is used of the practice.[4] It is the common root also for the service, the worship of the gods in West-Semitic, and this fact illustrates the parity, often equivalence of religion and magic. Hence the technical terms עבדא (*'ăbâdâ*), עובדא

[1] Budge, *Egyptian Magic,* 26 f.

[1a] E. g. in the Labartu texts, Myhrman, *ZA,* xvi, 141.

[2] For the first two words see indexes in Wessely's two volumes in the *Denkschriften;* for χρεῖα , Dieterich *Abraxas,* pp. 136, 160. All three words occur close together in Dieterich's text p. 204 f. For τελετή (Dieterich, p. 136) = the אשלמתא of our texts, see § 12.

[3] Cf. Latin, *colo, cultus.* This Hebrew-Aramaic root is more religious than *epešu,* etc., with its idea of service. N. b. Arabic *umrâ,* used of the cult at Mecca, Wellhausen, *Skizzen,* iii, 165.

[4] A magical connotation of this root may exist in *Is.* 28: 2: לעבד עבדתו נכריה עבדתו , where the divine operation is contrasted to the magic arts of the necromancers.

(*'ubbâdâ*), עבודא, מעבדא (*ma'bâdâ*), occurring frequently in the bowls, and in such expressions as עבידנא עבדא (9: 2), and עבודא דעביד הוהו.[5]

The spoken *Word* is represented by מלתא, מילין, "words," etc., also technically by קריתא, once בת קל דקריא 16: 10, = the Greek *ἐπίκλησις* (also *κλῆσις*) used both in magic arts and also in the Christian liturgy (in baptism, eucharist, exorcisms),[6] though as we shall see, most of these words came to be regarded as part of black magic and were avoided by our exorcists. The incantation as written is called a כתיבתא and by the unique word *dastabîra*,[7] and also a רזא, "mystery," 3: 1.[8]

A very large number of terms is used to express different practices and *nuances* of magic, but most of them only in the lists of dreaded black magic (see § 12), and hence they are avoided by our exorcists.[9] The exorcist gives himself none of the technical names, e. g. from the roots כשף, אשף; he speaks of his עבודא, but מעבדא is avoided. His adjuration is a מומיתא, the Babylonian *mamîtu, "ban,"* and he employs the corresponding verb מומינא; a more frequent equivalent is שבע, Afel. Once he uses the root אשף: אשיפנא באישפא דימא, 2: 3. But his favorite terminology for his own practice is derived from אסר, "bind," exactly equivalent to the Greek *καταδεῖν*, Latin *defigere;* the charm is an איסרא, איסורא. Also the synonymous roots are used less frequently: חבר, פכר, מצר, מסר, יסר, קטר, צור. The last root is used of magical practices in this sense in the Old Testament,[10] where also the obscure כסתות, *Eze.* 13: 18, is probably from a Babylonian root of like import.[11] In the Babylonian the "binding" power of magic is as prominent as in the western magic; I cite such passages as

[5] For מעבדין and the Syriac use see Nöldeke, *Z. f. d. Keils.-forsch.*, iii, 296, and Fränkel, *ZA*, ix, 308. A frequent attributive is תקיף.

[6] After summing up the various terms used for exorcism Heitmüller concludes, in his *"Im Namen Jesu,"* p. 212: "Der Ausdruck *κατ' ἐξοχήν* ist *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα.* Our word קריתא is the liturgical equivalent in the Syriac for *epiklesis.*

[7] See 32: 4, and Kent's discussion in *JAOS*, 1911, 359.

[8] The original use of this word (= *τελετή*) appears in its designation of black arts; see § 12.

[9] Cf. the modern fine distinctions between magic, sorcery, witchcraft, etc.

[10] See Davies, *Magic Divination and Demonology*, 55, as against W. R. Smith's view in *Journ. of Philology*, xiv, 123.

[11] Friedr. Delitzsch, in Baer and Delitzsch' text, p. xiii.

the *Maḳlu*-series iv, l. 9; vii, 66, in which this idea is expressed by several synonymous verbs.

The roots בטל, Pa., "annul," גזר, "prohibit," חרם, "be in taboo," שמת "lay under ban,"[12] frequently appear. Also חתם, Peal and Pael, is frequent with the sense of sealing the demons with the magic word or device engraved on a seal—often with explicit mention of Solomon's Seal; hence the reference to the 70 seals of Solomon (Hyv.), or the seal of the house of Enoch, 19: 17, the seals of the angels of the Most High (Hyv.).[13] Our magicians will work only white magic, and their whole effort is for the אסותא,[14] *salus* of their clients.[15] The great magician Joshua b. Perahia is an אסיא רבא, "great healer," 17: 12 = 34: 2. In this prophylactic nature of the magic, our texts differ favorably from the western *κατάδεσμοι* and *defixiones*. The incantations largely consist in the monotonous repetitions of these equivalent roots.

As to the praxis of our magic we have little information additional to that presented in § 8.[16] From Pognon's texts we learn that the bowl was a new one (B. no. 24) and that the sorcerer sat upon an uncleft rock, a survival of primitive religion.[17]

The rude figures and designs which can hardly be said to adorn the bowls are part of the praxis. They come down from the earlier and more realistic age when gods and demons were represented by simulacra and in this wise were manipulated so as to do the sorcerer's will.[18] Most of the

[12] Stübe explains the equivalent שיפורי in his text as denominative from שופר the horn of excommunication.

[13] For sealing as equivalent to placing the magical name on the object, see Heitmüller, *op. cit,* 143, 249, etc.

[14] The charm itself is called an אסותא.—Cf. the New Testament *σώζειν. σωτηρία* is used in the papyri, e. g. Wessely, xlii, 31, l. 341.

[15] This includes their defence, מטרתא, and supernatural arming זרזתא (cf. "the panoply of God," Eph. 6: 13), and involves the breaking of counter charms and wiles of the devils: עקר, שרא, אפך, כרך, בטל, פטר, פשר, etc.; אשכב, "lay a spirit"; כבש, etc. In the Talmud פשר is the technical opposite to אסר; Blau, *op. cit.,* 157.

[16] In No. 12 is a bit of rubric for forming a figure of an angel; see the commentary. And probably at end of No. 13 occurs an aphrodisiac recipe.

[17] Cf. the unhewn altar, *Ex.* 20: 25, and for the primitive aversion to iron, see Elworthy, *The Evil Eye,* 220 ff.

[18] Budge describes how as far back as the third millennium in Egypt pictures came to be used in place of material objects in the magic of the dead (*op. cit.,* 107).

figures represent the demons, generally as bound and hobbled—i. e. רגיל, אסיר, etc., to use the words of the incantation.[19] Especially the liliths are so represented, e. g. No. 8, but also there are masculine figures like the military-looking demon, in Persian style, of No. 3. Some of the gruesome caterpillar-like designs are intended to "raise the hair" as did the demons of elder Babylonia.[20]

In one specimen, No. 15, the figure is the design of the serpent with its tail in its mouth. This is surely of Egyptian origin, doubtless through a Hellenistic medium. Such a figure is described in the "Book of Apep," of Ptolemaic compilation,[21] and prescriptions for drawing this magical figure are found in the Greek papyri.[22] Very common—so in the Syriac bowls—is a circle with a cross in it; or the circle is divided into segments with a cross in each. These signs probably represent the magical seal. There also occur rough rectangular figures divided into compartments, representing the walls of protection which magic casts about the client.[23] Wessely gives a facsimile of such a magical design:[24] a square within a square, the former being divided into three compartments; I suppose after the plan of a double-walled and many-chambered castle, indicating the protective character of the charm.

In one case, no. 8835, a cross-shaped figure may represent a dagger, and so indicate one of the magical forms of *defixio* or fastening down of the evil spirits.[25]

[19] Cf. the operation performed on the figure of the Labartu, Myhrman, *op. cit.*, 150. For Palestine, see the figurettes found in the Seleucidan debris of Tell Sandahannah, in Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 154. For Egyptian usage, e. g. Budge, *op. cit.*, 83.

[20] See the description in Myhrman, p. 148; also the seven evil Utukki, Thompson, *Devils*, tablet 16, and ii, p. 149.

[21] Budge, *op. cit.*, 79, 83.

[22] Wessely, xlii, 39 f., 69. The like design appears in a bowl depicted by Hilprecht, *Explorations*, opposite p. 447. Within the circle so formed are a number of magical figures, the most elaborate that appear in the bowls. The specimen is presumably at Constantinople.

[23] For similar sympathetic magic in old Babylonia, see Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 303.

[24] *Ibid.* 64.

[25] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*, "Defixio," col. 2373; Thompson, *Sem. Magic*, 17. For modern instances of this kind of sorcery, see Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, 53.

In No. 4 it is evidently the sorcerer who is depicted, waving in his hand a magic bough. This is the use we find in Babylonian magic, in which a branch of the datepalm or tamarisk was held aloft to repel the demons.[26]

One detail of universal magic appears in the praxis of our bowls: the assumption of a suitable season for the exorcism. So 6: 5: "this day out of all months, this year out of all years"; cf. the mutilated (and probably misunderstood) form of this formula in 17: 1. In Wohlstein 2422 a day is given: "If you come on the first of Nisan, go away," etc. Nisan 1 was an auspicious day for expelling demons;[27] this was probably due to the belief that the great turning points of the year, the solstices and equinoxes were times of supernatural determinations of human fate, when responsive action on the part of man was especially effective; in the Babylonian calendar Nisan 1 was the day of Destinies, the Jewish New Year's day in Tishri has the same character, and compare the magic time of midsummer night and the Christmas season in more modern superstition.[28] In old Babylonia certain days were propitious for exorcism, and they are listed, as personified, in a Šurpu text, among them the 7th, 15th, 19th, 20th, 25th, 30th, of the month.[29] We have fuller information of this notion from Egypt; papyri are preserved giving all the days in the year according to their character as propitious or unpropitious for magical rites.[30] The same use of seasons appears in the Hellenistic papyri, those continuators of Egyptian magic. Among the numerous passages I note the following: *ἐνιαντοὺς ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μῆνας ἐξ μηνῶν, ἡμέρας ἐξ ἡμερῶν, ὥρας ἐξ ὡρῶν, ὁρκίζω πάντας τοὺς*

[26] Thompson, *Devils,* p. xlix, and instances pp. 23, 111, 197. Compare the religious use of the *bareçma,* a bunch of datepalm, pomegranate or tamarisk, in the Persian religion; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthümer,* iii, 571. Thompson in his note draws attention to our design.

[27] Wohlstein, p. 399, with references.

[28] See Carl Schmidt, *Aberglaube des Mittelalters,* 1884, 205 ff. (on *Die Tagewählerei*).

[29] Zimmern, tablet viii, 24 ff. Cf. the exorcism of a demon at full moon, in Lucian, *Philopseudes,* 16.

[30] Budge, *op. cit.,* 224 ff.; *Gods of the Egyptians,* ii, c. xix, for lists of the deities of times and seasons. The earliest appearance of this system among the Jews is the angelic calendar system in *Enoch,* 82.

δαίμονας.[31] This is exactly the equivalent of the passage cited above, 6: 5: יומא הדין מיכולהון יומי וירחא הדין מיכולהון ירחי ושתא הדא מיכולהין שני ועידנא הדין מיכולהון עידני, and there can be no reasonable doubt that we have here the reminiscence of the Hellenistic formula. So again in the papyri: *ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρᾳ*.[32] At least the later magical calendar is connected with astrology; one Greek exorcism adjures "by the God who has the power of the hour."[33] These references to an appropriate magical time are in our texts however quite conventional; we may judge that no horoscopes were cast by our sorcerers.

But the praxis is a minor part of the bowl-magic. In this it differs from the Babylonian in which the praxis was primary, the texts being illuminative of the action. The reasons for this shifting of the center of gravity I shall touch upon in § 15. In the bowls the incantation, the spell, is almost the all in all. It consisted in the utterance or writing of certain phrases, words, syllables, which possessed in themselves a magic power to bind equally the favorable powers and the demons.[34] This use of spells has gone so far that magic appears to have divorced itself from religion; the inversion of the bowl and the monotonously repeated declaration that the demons are "bound, sealed, countersealed, exorcised, hobbled, silenced," etc., e. g. Nos. 2, 4, is in itself sufficient, without invocation of, or reference to, the divine powers.

Generally however appears the formal adjuration of Deity or of deities and other favorable genii, the invocation of their name securing their assistance.[35] This may be specifically the Jewish deity, e. g. No. 14,

[31] Wessely, xxxvi, 53, l. 341 ff. My colleague Professor Heffern sagaciously notes the illumination thus cast upon the difficult reference in *Rev.* 9: 15 to the angels appointed for an hour, day, month, year; the verse is reminiscent of magical phraseology. Note also the phrase, "in a good hour and a good and auspicious day," in the Paris Magical Papyrus, l. 3000 (given by Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 251, 255).

[32] Wessely, xxxvi, 92, l. 1932 ff. = xlii, 42, l. 665 ff. N. B. the like stress laid upon "this day" in the Babylonian exorcisms, e. g. *Šurpu*-series, iv, l. 65.

[33] Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, no. 3, l. 20.

[34] The conscious manipulation of words, phrases, pronunciations to extract their magical sense, appears in 9: 5 = 32: 6.

[35] Even as in earlier times the images of the gods were used; e. g. Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, 315.—The magical value of the use of the name in religious rites

"in thy name YHWH"; or it may be quite indefinite as in the recurrent introductory formula, "In thy name, O Lord of healings, great Healer of love"; the same form also appears in the pagan text No. 19. I discuss under No. 3 the origin of the phrase.

There is nothing new in the adjuration of many angels[36] or deities along with the appeal to some one Name;[37] the former is the Jewish phase of polytheism, while even with polytheistic adjurations there may be recognition of "God," as in the pagan text No. 19 with its reference to "the one true God," l. 17. Noticeable is the easy passage from the invocation of celestial beings into that of mere names or words; but this illustrates the arrant nominalism into which magic had fallen, losing the religious phase of divine personality. So Abraxas is invoked—though probably here we have a very ancient divine name, inherited from Egypt.[38] Of this "the holy Agrabis" may be a perversion, 14: 2. In 7: 9, as noted in § 9, "the Great Abbahu" may be a magically deified sorcerer.[39] Many of the odd names which are invoked may be kabbalistic (gematriac, etc.) names of angels or gods (see § 13). They may soon have worn down into unintelligible words—just as Αβραξας = 365 becomes אברכים (and other forms) without reminiscence of the numerical value of the letters.[40] We have the

has been established in late years by a series of discussions from scholars working in various fields. I name: K. Nyrop, *Navnets magt* ("the power of the name"), 1887, noted and analyzed by Giesebrecht (see below); F. v. Andrian in *Correspondenzblatt d. deutsch. Gesellschaft f. Anthropologie, Ethnologie u. Urgeschichte,* xxvii (1896), 109-127; F. Giesebrecht, *Die alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens u. ihre religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage,* Königsberg, 1901; W. Heitmüller, *'In Namen Jesu,'* Göttingen, 1903 (especially Part II). Cf. also, on the use of the name, Jacob, *"Im Namen Gottes," Vierteljahrsschrift f. Bibelkunde,* i (1903), Heft 1 seq. (which I have not seen in full); J. Boehmer, *Das biblische 'Im Namen,'* Giessen, 1898. (on the philological origins of the baptism formula); and an essay by W. Brandt, "Ὄνομα en de doopsformule in het nieuwe testament," *Theol. Tijdschrift,* 1891.

[36] For the adjuration of angels in Judaism, see Heitmüller, *op. cit.,* 176 ff.

[37] See § 13.

[38] According to Budge, *Egyptian Magic,* 180, originally the name of a form of the sungod; according to Wiedemann, *Magie u. Zauberei* (*D. Alte Orient,* vii, 4), p. 23, the Egyptians from of old worshipped as god "the Magical Formula."

[39] Cf. the early and frequent use of the name Jesus in the papyri magic; and cf. *Acts* 19: 13. For Jesus as a sorcerer in the Talmud, see Blau. *op. cit.* 29.

[40] See Pognon, *Inscr. mand.,* 107. In 34: 19 he is "mighty lord."

same unintelligent invocation of names in the magical papyri, e. g. the exorcism "in the name of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus Chrestos, Holy Spirit."[41] This is not Jewish magic, any more than we can say that the erotic charm from Hadrumetum is Jewish in its present form with its barbarous spellings for the patriarchs: Αβρααν, Ιακου, Ισρααμ.[42] These are specimens of eclectic magic with pagan and Jewish elements, overlaid with Christian.[43] It is in this eclectic character of our texts, as in all so-called Jewish magic, that they part company from the old Babylonian magic and relate themselves to occidental conjuration.

The invocation of angelic names in Jewish magic may be regarded as in part the parallel to the pagan invocation of many deities, and in part as invocation of the infinite (personified) phases and energies of the one God.[44] Both Jewish and pagan magic agreed in requiring the accumulation of as many names of the deity or demon as possible, for fear lest no one name exhaust the potentiality of the spiritual being conjured. The aggregation of divine epithets in the Old Testament, as also in the Christian liturgy, goes back to the root-idea of the efficiency of a knowledge of all the names if possible; the fifty names of Marduk, the hundred names of Allah, are similar cases. In the Babylonian magic[45] and also in the Egyptian[46] this practice was established. For Hellenic magic may be cited the many names of Hekate, the λόγοι ἑκατίκιοι.[47] In this accumulation

[41] Wessely, xxxvi, 75, l. 1227. Cf. the list of invocations in a "Christian" amulet: Adonai, Thodonael (= Toth + Adonael), Sabaoth, Emanuel, the holy angels, etc. (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 293).

[42] For the text and literature see to No. 28.

[43] I suppose the formula read originally: "in the name of the God of Abraham," etc. See Heitmüller, *op. cit.,* p. 180 for the invocation of the patriarchs, etc. Origen (*c. Cels,* iv, 35) appears to admit its efficacy.

[44] Cf. the Gaonic maxim that there are many things in which the angels are independent of God, Blau, *op. cit.,* 92; with which contrast the notion of the ephemeral existence of the angels who proceed from the *Dinûr* of God; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie,* 166, Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum,* ii, 371—all but Michael and Gabriel according to a dictum of *Bereshith R.* (Lueken, *Michael,* 39). For the equivalent efficiency of divine and angelic names see the magical text, *The Sword of Moses,* published by Gaster, 1896.

[45] Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens,* i, 291.

[46] Budge, *op. cit.,* 171.

[47] Wünsch. *Ant. Fluchtafeln,* 6.

of divine names there lurks the uncertainty whether they are names of one being, or, as so many potencies, names of as many beings. This confusion appears in the parallel texts under No. 11, where the second (Myhrman's text) turns the three names of the Jewish God in the first into a polytheistic trinity. But except in the case of accumulated magical syllables, the "barbarous names" of Greek magic, the Deity is not in our texts given many names; this is due to the fact that the reference to the Deity is not much more than a passing compliment. However the names of the demons must be exactly known, and especially is it the Lilith who receives an extravagant accumulation of designations; she is akin to Hekate and the "Hekatian names" are showered upon her. For the demoniac names I refer to § 12.

The use of so-called kabbalistic names—letters,[48] syllables, phrases—as potent charms, may next claim our attention. The roots of this usage are many, and the origin or etymology of specific cases mostly defy explanation. The practice is rare in Babylonian magic,[49] but is common in the sorcery of ancient Egypt[50] and in its lineal descendant the Hellenistic magic,[51] and hence it was reflected to the Jewish sorcery, the Talmud abundantly illustrating the use of these *barbarica onomata*.[52] One primitive source of this usage is the mystery which is thrown about magic rites; "the wizards that squeak and gibber" (Is. 8: 19) are universal; the Babylonian priest generally whispered his formulas (cf. the title *mašmašu*); the solemn parts of Christian rites have likewise tended to inaudible pronounciation. There exists a tendency toward intentional obscuration of the formulae, which by psychological necessity would tend to even greater corruption. But magic is in its purpose a scientific exercise, and we must suppose that in general something intelligible was once expressed by the now unintelligi-

[48] For the mysticism connected with letters see Dieterich's interesting discussion, *Rhein. Mus.*, lvi, 77, "ABC—Denkmäler."

[49] A case in Myhrman, *ZA*, xvi, 188 (cf. Jastrow, i, 339), for the text of which see 15: 4.

[50] Budge, *op. cit.*, c. 5, e. g. p. 172.

[51] See Heitmüller, *op. cit.* 197 ff.; Abt, *Apuleius*, 152. For the *Ephesia grammata*, see Kuhnert, in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* (the papers of Welcker in his *Kleine Schriften*, iii, and of Wessely in *Program* of the Franz Joseph Gymn., Vienna, 1886, I have not seen).

[52] Blau, *op. cit.*, 61 f.; Grünbaum, *ZDMG*, xxxi, 269 f.

ble term. Much of the later nonsense was the survival of phrases of the lost tongue in which the charms had their rise.[53] Such a part may have been played by Sumerian phrases in later Babylonia, and the great western sorcerer Apuleius recognizes the origins of his magical lingo as *magica nomina Aegyptio vel Babyloniaco ritu,*[54] and the Hellenistic sorcerer is said to *αἰγυπτιάζειν.*

Some of the phrases are still intelligible, such as חוש, "quick" (off with you), with abundant parallels in the Babylonian and the Greek magic (the repeated *ταχύ*),[55] also brief imperatives, as זע, זח, or זה, from זעע, etc., "fly away." But the great majority of the forms are unintelligible. It is to be observed that raucous sounds, e. g. קץ (*ḳaṣ*) and especially sibilants are very frequent; in Pognon's texts ש (*sh*) is often inserted between words.[56] May we compare the hissing implied by the ancient Hebrew sorcery terms, לחש and נחש?

Many such syllables or letters are surrogates for the divine name יהוה, which especially lent itself to this treatment.[57] So we find the changes rung on this word: יה, יוה, יהו, אהעה, etc. Or abbreviations are used like the repeated א, = אדני אל אלהים;[58] in 20: 2 it is extravagantly repeated six times, in 31: 8 eight times. In יאהיהו, 31: 6, we have a play on the three vowels as in Greek magic.

Then there enters in the use of the principle of *Athbash,* in all its various forms, e. g. מצפץ (Stübe, l. 66) = יהוה. Such *prima facie* unintelligible forms themselves became corrupted in course of time; perhaps MṢ MṢ, PṢ PṢ, 14: 2, are from the former theme. Probably too the

[53] See Deissmann's remarks on the distinction between hocus-pocus and survivals of Egyptian and Babylonian magic in the vocabulary of the papyri; *Bibelstudien,* 1 ff.

[54] Abt, *Apuleius,* 152.

[55] See to 14: 4.

[56] In our texts cf. 1: 13, 3: 5, 14: 2, 25: 5, 29: 10.

[57] For extensive magical formulas based on the Name, see Nos. 3, 6, 31, 35. I give a list of these terms at the end of Glossary A.

[58] Cf. the introduction to Schwab's *Dictionnaire d'angélologie;* Blau, *op. cit.,* 117-146. Against Jewish orthodox use, our texts do not hesitate to write יהוה; cf. the Samaritan usage. In one case it is vocalized in a proper name, בריכיהביה, 36: 4, *q. v.* The reminiscence of the ancient pronunciation survived in the lower classes and certain sects, e. g. among the Samaritans, and in magic, cf. the forms Ια*β*ε, etc.

principle of (mathematical) gematria may be supposed,[59] of old standing in Judaism,[60] but also found in the theosophy and current use of the Greeks.[61] The passage in 9: 5 f. which speaks of "letter out of letters, name out of names, interpretation out of interpretation," doubtless refers to the abstraction of such hidden meanings and values out of words.

In one case, 15: 4 f., occurs a rhyming "nonsense" couplet used with magical intention. For this as noticed to the passage there is one example in the Assyrian magic. Assonance of succeeding words is found, e. g. 35: 5.[62] Both assonance and rhyme are found in the western magic; e. g. *adam alam betur alam botum;*[63] and

ορθω βαυβω νοηρε κοδηρε
δυσηρε συρε συροε πανκιστη δωδεκακιστη.[64]

Rhyme appears in the lines:

τοῦτο γράφε : εἰς[65] *Θυριήλ,*
Μιχαήλ Γαβριήλ, Οὐριήλ,
Μισαήλ, Ἰρραήλ, Ἰστραήλ.[66]

I do not find much proof of intentional misspelling; most of the apparent cases are cleared up on inspection of the text. In fact a good deal of care is exercised in this regard (n. b. a case in 4: 4), and erroneous letters or words are often erased or repeated correctly; in form most of the texts compare favorably with the magical papyri.

[59] Schwab, I; a case in No. 42.

[60] Found by ancient tradition in Eliezer = 318; cf. *Gen.* 15: 2 and 14: 14.

[61] Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East,* 275; Wünsch, *op. cit.,* 23.

[62] The Talmudic *shabriri briri riri ri* is different in character; the gradual peeling off of the word finally destroys the demon.

[63] See Wessely, xlii, 13, from Marcellus, xxviii, 72.

[64] Wessely, xlii, 45, l. 747, = l. 964.

[65] This identification of the angels recalls the assimilation of the gods in the famous Babylonian passage; "Ninib the Marduk of strength, Nergal the Marduk of battles," and similar astrological identifications; see A. Jeremias, *Monotheistische Strömungen,* 26.

[66] Wessely, xxxvi, 90, l. 1814 ff. For assonance and rhyme in Greek magic, see Heim, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher f. classische Philologie,* Supplementband xix (1903), 544 ff.; M. C. Sutphen, "Magic in Theokritos and Vergil," in the *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve* (Baltimore, 1902), 318; Abt, *Apologie d. Apuleius,* 154. For similar cases in our texts see 19: 18, 25: 5, 35: 5.

An important part of the Word of Power in developed magic is the use of sacred scriptures, the epics, legends of the people, and the citation of appropriate precedents. Babylonian, Egyptian, Jew, Greek, each had his thesaurus of sacred legend, which age had consecrated as veritable words of Deity and hence in themselves potent.[67] These are "the ancient runes," שירא קדמיא, of 32: 9.[68]

Early house amulets have been found in Assyria inscribed with quotations from the legend of Ura the pest-god;[69] and there are other traces of the use of epic myth in the Babylonian magic.[70] In the same way that portion of the Book of the Dead known as "The Chapters of the Coming Forth of the Day," largely consisting of myth, and the Legend of Ra and Isis, were used in Egypt as magical texts.[71] In the Greek magic we have the prophylactic and divinatory use of the Homeric verses.[72] Nor were the Jews behind their neighbors, with their fast fixed canon of sacred scripture. The book of Deuteronomy ordered or at least suggested the use of the weightiest "word" in the scriptures, the Shemá, as a phylactery to be inscribed on the hands and between the eyes (in place of totemistic tattoo-marks)[73] and on the sideposts and gates of the house (where earlier prophylactic amulets like the Babylonian had hung). Or certain passages appeared palpably appropriate, just as the Ura-legend was used as a prophylactic; so *Ps.* 91, especially v. 5 f.; or the divine *scolding* of the evil spirit, "YHWH rebuke thee, Satan," in *Zech.* 3: 2. A few of the bowls published by Schwab, G (exterior),[74] H, K, O, are mostly or largely

[67] Cf. *Is.* 55: 11.

[68] For שׁ, cf. ἐπῳδαί, carmina, incantamenta, etc. of occidental magic. Cf. the use of the same root in Arabic; שׁ in *Ju.* 5: 12 has this sense.

[69] King, *ZA,* xi, 50; Fossey, *op. cit.,* 105; Jastrow, *op. cit.* i, 285; Thompson, *Sem. Magic,* 83.

[70] Jastrow, *op. cit.,* i, 363.

[71] Budge, *op. cit.* 125, 137, and p. 141 for remarks on this magic.

[72] See Heim, "Incantamenta magica graeca latina," in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher,* as in n. 66 and Wessely, xlii, 2 ff.

[73] Cf. *Eze.* 9: 4, *Is.* 44: 5, *Gal.* 6: 17, *Rev.* 13: 16 f., etc. The practice was continued into Talmudic times, *Sabb.* 120b, etc.; see Blau, *op. cit.,* 119.

[74] *PSBA,* xii, 327.

composed of scripture verses.[75] We find in them the Aaronic blessing, *Num.* 6: 24 ff., *Is.* 44: 25, *Cant.* 3: 7; K contains the whole of *Ps.* 121, *Ex.* 22: 18, *Cant.* 3: 7 f., *Ps.* 16: 1, 17: 8, 32: 7. O is an amalgam of *Dt.* 6: 4 and *Ps.* 91, with the first word of the former followed by the first of the latter, etc. G reads *Dt.* 29: 22 and then reverses the order of the words.[76] But these genuinely Jewish effusions are exceptional, and may be comparatively late. The Nippur bowls are marked by their lack of scriptural quotation and reference. Very frequent is "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan,"[77] at the end of the inscription. No. 26 opens with the first words of the Shemá, followed by *Num.* 9: 23 and *Zech.* 3: 2. *Num.* 9: 23 is of value as containing the root שמר, a frequent and potent theme in Jewish magic. Biblical and of good magical tradition is the use of Amen (generally twice or thrice repeated), Selah,[78] Halleluia. These are also used in Talmudic charms, e. g. *Yoma* 84a: "kanti, kanti, kaloros, Yah, Yah, YHWH, Sabaoth, Amen, Amen, Selah." The magical Halleluia recalls the probable use of Hallel-like forms in incantations.[79] These Jewish terms are not found in the Mandaic texts, in which the sectarian doxology, "Life is victorious" replaces them. In the Greek papyri *αμην* and *αλλελουια* are frequent,[80] and we have a case of syncretism such as this: *φοβηθέντα τὸ ἀμὴν καὶ τὸ ἀλλελουία καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.*[81]

But this use of scripture is not such as we should expect to find from any Jew even moderately versed in the Old Testament. The spelling is

[75] For biblical verses of prophylactic power approved by the Talmud, see Blau, *op. cit.*, 70 f., 93 f., and his article "Amulets," in *Jewish Encyc.*; also Kayser, "Gebrauch von Psalmen zu Zauberei," *ZDMG*, xlii, 456, presenting a Syriac MS. containing the Psalm verses useful in magic and divination. For the use of Psalms (especially *Ps.* 91) in the late Italian magic, see Pradel, *Griechische u. süditalienische Gebete*, 69.

[76] On this practice in Jewish magic, called מפרץ, see Blau, *op. cit.*, 85; the practice reversed the hostile charm. With the attempt at disguising the plain meaning, cf. the intentional confusion of lines in a Greek *defixio*, published in Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, no. 4.

[77] A formula recommended in the Talmud, *Berak.* 5a.

[78] This magical use of Selah is not, I think, noticed in the several modern studies of the word. It appears also as *Σαλα* on an Abraxas gem, *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne*, i, 144.

[79] Cf. Blau, *op. cit.*, 94 f.

[80] E. g., both together, Wessely, xlii, 28, l. 279.

[81] *Ib.* 66, l. 31.

not Massoretic, the quotations are not exact.[82] There are but two references to the supreme history of the Exodus, 14: 2, 34: 4, and the latter is confused. In the Greek papyri there is far more citation of the sacred history; cf. the "Jewish" text of the Great Magical Papyrus at Paris, published most recently by Deissmann.[83] This contains a brief summary of God's great acts for Israel, although the crossing of the Jordan precedes the passage of the Red Sea.[84] The "Judaism" of our bowls is often less than that of the papyri.[85]

There are several references to ancient myth and apocrypha, especially in the citation of great spells. So 2: 4, "the spell of the sea and the spell of the monster Leviathan"; l. 6, "the curse, etc., which fell on Mt. Hermon, Leviathan, Sodom, Gomorra"; 4: 4, "the seal with which were charmed the Seven Stars and the Seven Signs"; 10: 3, 5, "the seal with which the First Adam sealed his son Seth," or "with which Noah sealed the ark";[86] also see 34: 4 f.

All sacred and legendary history is a series of spells, just as the Babylonian epic literature is magically used, Ea or Marduk appearing as the high priest of exorcism. So also in Egypt the epic of the gods gives assurance of present magical help. "My two hands lie upon this child, the two hands of Isis lie upon him, even as Isis laid her two hands upon her son Horus." "O Isis, save me even as thou didst save thy son Horus."[87] And so in the Greek papyri the adjuration is often by the wonderful works of the God of Israel, which are regarded as spells; see the great Magical Papyrus.

[82] I cannot agree with Blau, p. 110, that this paraphrasing and variation in scriptural quotation was intentional; magic which perpetuated the pronunciation of the Great Name would not have hesitated at using the exact words of scripture. The quotations have often come through eclectic mediums.

[83] *Light from the Ancient East,* 250 ff.

[84] Cf. the Talmudic charm against the toothache, *Sabb.* 67a, in which portions of the pericope of the Bush were recited; Blau, *op. cit.,* 69.

[85] "Man kann den Aberglauben der Kaiserzeit nicht in die verschiedenen Kategorieen *heidnisch jüdisch und christlich* einteilen.....Der Aberglaube ist seiner Natur nach synkretistisch"; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien,* 25.

[86] Cf. "the seal which Solomon laid on the tongue of Jeremia," in the great Magical Papyrus, l. 3039, Deissmann, *Light,* p. 257; which has its parallel in the charm with which Enoch's brothers charmed him, 3: 4.

[87] Wiedemann, *Magie u. Zauberei bei den alten Aegyptern,* 1905, 22, 26.

In this connection may be noted a few passages which appear to be derived from apocryphal or kabbalistic literature, fragments snatched to decorate the lean skeleton of incantation. E. g. 8: 13: "holy angels, hosts of light in the spheres, the chariots of El-Panim before Him standing, the beasts worshipping in the fire of His throne and in the water, the cohorts of I-am-that-I-am"; 14: 3: "I adjure you by Him who lodged His Shekina in the temple of light and hail"; or the poetic description of the angels in 12: 7: "They are filled with glory who endure and keep pure since the days of eternity, and their feet are not seen in the dances by the world, and they sit and stand in their place, blowing like the blast, lightening like the lightning."—beneficent Annunaki! These passages, reminiscent both of the Apocalypse and the later kabbalistic literature, are recited with magical intent.[88] An important part of magic was the epic of the god and the praise of his glory; compare the insertion of the Hermetic Κοσμοποιία in the Leyden magical papyrus,[89] and the epic of the attack of the rebel spirits against the gods in the 16th tablet of the *Utukku* series. The story of the god's power or the praise of his glory were "words of power" against the fiends.[90]

There is a dreary monotony in these texts, yet much variation of details. After possibly an invocation, comes the name of the client and family, and then the categories of detested demons and ills. Then follow the various Names in which the spells are invoked. Noticeable is the frequent repetition of the same form, even three or more times (e. g. No. 3). This insipid use has its parallel in the κατάδεσμοι; cf. the examples in Wünsch. *op. cit.*, nos. 3, 4, 5, where with slight changes the exorcism is repeated at least three times. Multiplication increased the efficiency of the charm; it is the βαττολογία of the Gentiles (*Mt.* 6: 7). But the relig-

[88] Cf. the amulet in Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 294, where the ranks of the celestial hierarchy are enumerated as standing by the great and lofty Deity.

[89] Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 182. Herodotus notices the use of a theogony or divine history in the incantation of a magus (i, 132); see in general Conybeare, *JQR* ix, 93 f.

[90] Cf. Fossey, *op. cit.*, 96; and for the western magic, Wünsch, *op. cit.*, 13. Scriptural and legendary narratives are found in the Syriac charms published by Gollancz, *Actes du 11ème Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1887, sect. iv, 77. Cf. also the similar Syriac charms published by W. H. Hazard in *JAOS*, xv (1893), 284 ff.

ious imaginativeness and poetic invention of the ancient Babylonian and Egyptian magic has disappeared. The spell, the ἱερὸς λόγος has suffered its *reductio ad absurdum,* personality human and divine is thrown out of doors.

§ 12. The Objects of Exorcism; the Demons, Etc.

The magic of the bowls is of too late an age to require here a dissertation on the rise and spread of the belief in evil spirits. Our sorcery is *fin de siècle*. When the old-world religions began to decay, and the gods that once were near to men disappeared in the political convulsions which marked the passing of ancient tribe or city and the domination of a world-empire, or suffered under the strokes of philosophy and skepticism, the spirits of ill were not banished, and the superstition that feeds on the fears of men, came to occupy the center of the stage of the spiritual drama. Nor did the rise of the great spiritual religions counteract the tremendous development of the superstition concerning the powers of evil, for they did not deny them, but recognized their existence, often regarded themselves in the negative light of prophylactics and antidotes against the great outstanding fact of evil agencies. The Persian faith was boldly dualistic and magical in its rites for overcoming the powers of ill. Jewish monotheism was too tense, and the cardinal doctrine of the one God was saved by that unfortunate, though possibly necessary, salvage from antique polytheism, in the shape of angels and devils who were nearer and more real to man than distant Deity.[1] The Christian Church followed the tuition of her mother and her pagan converts brought along with them the superstitions of the Graeco-Roman world; the doctrine of the Incarnation seemed to entail the foil of embodied demons, and diabolology entered into the formal Christian theology to an extent unknown in official Judaism.[2]

[1] Cr. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 313 ff., 326 ff.

[2] For the diabolology of the Hellenistic world, see the works of Heitmüller, Reitzenstein, Abt, Tambornino, cited in the previous section; also in general P. Wendland, *Die hellenistischrömische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum u. Christentum*, 1907; for Jewish and Christian demonology, see n. 35 for literature.

Our magic is a degenerate survival of the religious and magical developments of ancient Egypt and Babylonia, of the Hellenistic world, of Judaism, and in the study of its demonology, we are dealing with a mass of time-worn and banal demons, which do not promise much for fresh investigation. Nevertheless the analysis of the different kinds of demons may produce here and there a note of interest.

I have noticed above the magical efficacy ascribed to naming the names of deities and demons (§ 11).[3] Personal names for demons, it is true, are not very common; they are generally epithets or generic terms, e. g. "the Killer, the Demon, the Satan," etc. One class of demons however seems always to have enjoyed the privilege of a long list of names which it was the sorcerer's duty to know and to conjure. This is the female demon represented in the old Babylonian texts by the Labartu, in the Jewish by the Lilith, in the Greek by the Gello or Baskania. Our text No. 42 is an exorcism of the evil Lilith and its virtue consists in the knowledge it gives of her many names; I refer to that text for comparative details. Likewise the Labartu has her six (seven?) names, which are to be carefully pronounced.[4] We may also compare the accumulation of epithets attached to demons in 2: 2 f., 8: 2, 24: 13, etc., and recall a like process in the names of Satan in Rev. 9: 11, 12: 9, while Egyptian magic similarly amassed the names of the demon Apep.[5] Also for further identification of the demons the names of their parents, or even granddams are given,[6] for every specification enhances the power of the name. Also the personal description is efficacious, for this indicates that the sorcerer knows exactly whom he is exorcising. Such magical descriptions sometimes rise to almost epic tones, as in the delineation of the Seven Spirits in the Babylonian *Utukki*-series.[7] A reminiscence of these hair-raising pictures appears in the Mandaic bowls published by Pognon and Lidzbarski, in which

[3] Cf. also Origen, *C. Celsum,* i, 24 f., v, 45 f., and the summary of his argument given by Conybeare, *JQR,* ix, 65 f.

[4] See the opening of the Labartu texts as published by Myhrman, *ZA,* xvi, 154; cf. a similar text on an amulet published by Weissbach, *Bab. Miscellen,* 44.

[5] Budge, *Egyptian Magic,* 171.

[6] See below under (1)b.

[7] Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia,* i, 51.

the hurtling, scolding, fighting of the Lilith-witches is depicted in uncanny terms. But in general our texts do not extend much beyond the mere registration of categories; this decadent sorcery made up for the lack of poetical imagination by a mathematical tabulation. Superstition in order to be comprehensive encyclopaedically accumulated all the terms of evil; not only the inherited demoniac categories, but all which new races and faiths had to offer were gladly accepted. Hence in our texts the naming of the devils and ills results in the registration of an indefinite number of species.

An analysis of our general category may start from a threefold division, namely: (1) evil spirits, in the strict sense of the term, as personal beings; (2) evil agencies, especially the species of black magic, which have been potentized into almost personal existence; (3) natural evils, especially physical maladies, but also such mental and moral affections as loss, shame, etc.—which are regarded as instigated by demons, or as themselves evils with personality, although often the demoniac element is vague.

This is the order we find generally in our present texts. And it is antique. It appears in the Babylonian, e. g. in a text where the several evil spirits are named (Utukki, etc.), then "the enchantments, sorceries, witchcrafts," then "sickness."[8] All the three categories do not so often appear in the Babylonian magic, more frequently those under (2) and (3) are paired, but here again we find the same order—the bans (*mamîtu*) and then the various human ills.[9] This order appears also on the whole in the Byzantine charms published by Vassiliev:[10] *τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα, ἡ βασκανία ἡ φαρμακεία ἡ φοβερισμὸς ἡ φρίκη ἡ πυρετὸς ἡ ἐπίβουλον ἡ συνάντημα πονηρὸν ἡ νοσηρὸν ἡ κωφὸν ἡ τυφλὸν,*— and so on with a list of diseases. Compare a papyrus list, in which are all celestial and terrestial spirits, sins, dreams, bans, witchcraft.[11]

This is the natural order of the evolution of magic: first the animistic fear of demons, then the opposition to mortals who have bound the evil spirits to their malicious purpose, finally the more exact diagnosis of the maladies which are specified in secular terms. At the end of the develop-

[8] Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, 161.

[9] E. g. *Šurpu*-series, v, l. 55 ff., Zimmern, *Beiträge z. Kenntniss d. babylon. Religion*, 23.

[10] *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, i, 332.

[11] Wessely, Vienna phil.-hist. *Denkschriften*, xxxvi, 81, l. 1443.

ment this last category may alone remain, as in the Babylonian medical texts or the modern Jewish and Arabic charms. It may here be remarked that the never-ending enlargement of categories of evil spirits, apart from eclectic causes, may be due to Persian influence, although hardly any of the details can be traced to that source.

(1)

(a) The most honorable place in the first division is to be assigned to the ancient gods and the spirits still haunting their temples, which the development of religion and especially the monotheistic trend had depotentized and turned into demons. The religion of yesterday becomes the superstition of to-day. Polytheism died hard. Even with the triumph of the One God in the Old Testament, there survived the belief in the many deities who appear as lieutenants of Yahwe, the בני האלהים (Job, 1), as capable of disobedience and subject to divine wrath (*Gen.* 6: 1 ff., *Ps.* 82), as the planetary spirits (*Dt.* 32: 8 [Greek], *Is.* 24: 21 ff.), as angels,—a more thoroughgoing assimilation with monotheism, though the angels at first have an independence and sovereignty recalling the Sons of God (e. g. *Dan.* 10: 13, 21, and Satan), or finally as evil spirits. The supreme declaration of Second Isaiah that the gods are naught and nothing, unfortunately was not sustained, and even onetime beneficent gods, when banished, returned as demons to vex the faithful. A classic expression of this demonology is found in Paul: "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons (*δαιμονίοις*) and not to God" (I *Cor.* 10: 20).[12] The fullest development of this theory is found in Mandaism, where the ancient spirits of the planets have become the chief devils. So also Mohammed reduced the pagan gods to Jinns.

These discarded deities may therefore head the list of evil potencies, and so we find in 38: 8: "Charmed be all gods (אלהיא)[13] and temple-spirits and shrine-spirits and idol-spirits and goddesses (עסתראתא)." The old proper name of the goddess Ištar had already in the Assyrian become a common

[12] So אלילים had become *δαιμόνια* in the Septuagint, and cf. *Baruch* 4: 7: *προσκυνεῖν τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα* (also *Rev.* 9: 20).

[13] Cf. the Babylonian *ilâni limnûti.*

name of goddesses in general (*ištarâti*).[14] In the heathen text No. 19 we learn of the sixty gods and the eighty goddesses (l. 8); the former figure is a survival of the ancient sacred number for the fulness of deity, hence the number of Anu;[15] the "eighty" is merely cumulative.[16] Once the rare feminine אלהתא (in the Syriac, Pesh., etc.) is found, used of a female spirit (Wohlstein, 2417: 5).[17]

Probably it is under Mandaic influence that we find the planets regarded as baneful spirits; n. b. the old myth of their fall cited in 4: 6 and the charms against sun, moon, stars, planets, 34: 6. For other demons of Mandaic origin[18] see Pognon's list, *Inscriptions Mandaites,* 93; to these may be added from Ellis 1: 3 נירוג, the Mandaic form of Nergal = the unlucky planet Mars, and אבטור,[19] who here is transformed into an evil genius.[20]

Under this head there is one interesting species, that of demons which are the spirits of the pagan shrines and simulacra, and so are regarded as haunting them.[21] Again the forceful protest of Second Isaiah, of *Ps.* 115,

[14] So *ilâni u. ištarâti, KAT*[3], 180. Cf. Heb. עשתרת צאן, *Dt.* 7: 13, etc., of ewes. Also n. b. *Ju.* 2: 13, with Moore's comment.

[15] For the survival of this mystical number in Judaism, see Grünbaum, *Zeits. f. Keilschr.-forsch.,* ii, 222. A list of 50 gods is given in one Babylonian hymn, see Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen,* no. iv, l. 152 ff.; cf. the *Šurpu*-series (Zimmern, *Beiträge*), no. iv, l. 68 ff., viii, 1 ff. Sometimes the number alone (6, 10, 15, 60) sufficed by way of abbreviation; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.,* i, 289. In No. 38 are mentioned the 360 broods of evil spirits; cf. the 366 Uthras in the Mandaic religion and the 360 gods which Islamic tradition claimed were housed at Mecca. According to *Pesaḥ.* 111b, seq., a service tree near a city has not less than 60 demons in it.

[16] According to old Semitic use, cf. *Mic.* 5: 4, *Prov.* 30: 15 ff. N. B. "the 7 sealers and the 8 brothers" in the Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski in the *Florilegium* to de Vogüé (l. 7 f.). Cf. 19: 4.

[17] I find אלהת in Sayce-Cowley's Elephantine papyri, and two Nabataean inscriptions, see Lidzbarski's glossary; also notice the Arabian goddess al-Lât, = the Babylonian Allât, goddess of the nether-world. For occurrence of אלת in Phoenician, see Baethgen, *Beiträge,* 58 f.

[18] See Brandt, *Mandäische Religion,* 43, n. 2.

[19] Brandt, *ib.,* 51, 199; *Mand. Schriften,* 184.

[20] For a list of these planetary spirits in the Mandaic cf. Lidzbarski's amulet just cited, l. 247 ff.

[21] Cf. Origen, *C. Celsum,* vii, 35 and 64: the localities especially haunted by the demons are temples and shrines where they can enjoy the incense, blood, etc. Also

the satire of Bel and the Dragon, had failed; there was a virtue in the cults and sanctuaries of the old religions. So the *êkûrê* appear in our bowls, as in the Mandaic books,[22] as established deities. The word *ekurru*, once the name for a temple had already in the Assyrian become applied to deities, *ekurrâti*.[23] The temples themselves were personified and practically deified;[24] later superstition retained the idea by regarding the *êkûrê* as the gods of the temples, and so as gods in general; e. g. Lidz., iv: בשום שיתין עכוריא זיכריא, where as the number 60 shows, עכוריא = אלהיא (cf. 19: 8).[25] Of like character are the פתכרי, or פתיכרי, = פאתיכרי (once, in Schwab Q: 5 פתקרי),[26] properly "images, idols," but used at large of gods in general; e. g. we read of "invocations of the gods, פ', and the goddesses."[27] There are פ' of the upper, lower and middle regions.[28] In some of the lists they appear rather far down; e. g. 5: 2, שידי ודיוי ואסרי ופ' ונידרא; cf. the Mandaic passage, quoted from the Ginza, in Pognon B, p. 75, where they occur after the demons, devils, spirits, amulets, liliths, being thus much reduced in grade. Levy translates the word by *Gespenster*;[29] in the eclectic magic of the time the word may have come to be identified with εἴδωλον, = both phantasm or ghost, and idol.[30] There is the distinction

in the Talmud the reality of oracles at those shrines is admitted, although explained apologetically; see the argument in *Aboda Z.* 55a, cited by Joel, *Der Aberglaube*, i, p. 86. Cf. I *Cor.* 10: 28.

[22] Brandt, *Mand. Schriften*, 81.

[23] Delitzsch, *Ass. Hwb.*, 21.

[24] Reisner, *Sum.-bab. Hymnen*, iv, l. 165; Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 282. *Beth-el* appears in the same use in West Semitic: the god Bait-ilê, *KAT*[3], 437 f., the name Bethel-shar-ezer, *Zech.* 7: 21 and now the many similar names in the new Elephantine papyri published by Sachau.

[25] The word also survived in its original sense, e. g. Pognon, B, no. 13.

[26] For the form, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 25.

[27] 2: 7, Lidz. 4, Wohls. 2422: 5.

[28] Pogn. B, no. 25, end.

[29] *ZDMG*, ix, 467, n. 5.

[30] The Persian word was early introduced into the occident. According to one MS. and Symmachus's testimony (margin of Cod. Marchalianus) παταχρα (+ ειδωλα as gloss) translates the אלהיו of *Is.* 8: 21, where the unintelligible πατρια is generally found. See Nestle in *Transactions of the IXth International Congress of Orientalists*, (1892), ii, 58.

between male and female פ' : פתכרי ופתכרתא and פתכרתרין נוקבתא (Schwab I).[30a]

I am inclined to associate with these *patkâras* the פריביא of 38: 8 and 40: 19, where they are listed between the עבוריא and פתיכריא or the עבוריא and עיסתראתא. The word would then mean "shrine-spirits" (Syriac *p^{e}rakkâ*, Ass. *parakku*). The change of the first vowel (*a* to *i*) is possible.[31] But another etymology may be proposed—from the Persian *pairīkâ* = Pahlavi *parîk* (the modern Persian Perî).[32] These creatures are described as beautiful seductive witches, are connected with comets, and also according to de Harlez are companions of certain genii invoked by magicians. Philologically, this would be the most fitting etymology for our word; but its precedence in the lists indicates a higher rank than that assigned to the little known (so Spiegel) and insignificant Pairîkas.

For the false gods also appears טעתא ,טעותא (sing. טעו), = "error," —used like אליל, etc. in the Old Testament.

(b) I pass now to those groups of demons which immemorially had stood as the evil spirits *par excellence*. Like the *utukki* of the Babylonian religion[33] they mostly appear in tribal groups, without personal distinction. Most constant among these classes are the דיוין and שידין, which may be expressed by "devils and demons," with as much or as little of a definite idea as these English words convey to us. The שדים occur in the Old Testament, the word having an obscure history in connection with the Assyrian *šêdu;* in function the שד is the Babylonian *šêdu limnu*, "evil *šêdu*."[34] In the later Jewish demonology the שידין are the hobgoblins, the

[30a] With פ' = a deity or demon, cf. the use of *σῆμα*, "tomb," as grave-demon; so in a Greek amulet published by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 293, and see his note 2. Also in the Syriac גניתא, "shrine" comes to mean a god, a false god, and in Peshitto of I *Sa.* 7: 3 translates עשתרות. In Islam the false gods were called *aṣnâm*, "idols."

[31] Cf. Nöldeke, *Gram. d. neu-syr. Sprache*, § 6, or *Mand. Gram.*, § 20; cf. תליתיכון, 8: 3. Or an assimilation to פתיכרא?

[32] See Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, ii, 138; A. V. W. Jackson in Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie*, iii, p. 665; C. de Harlez, *Manuel du Pehlevi*, 1880), *s. v.* in Glossary.

[33] See, for the Babylonian demons, Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, c. 2; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, c. xvi; Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 43 ff.

[34] See, *inter al.*, Baudissin, *Studien z. sem. Religionsgeschichte*, ii, 131, and his art. "Feldgeister," in Hauck's *RE*^{3}; H. Duhm, *Die bösen Geister im Alten Testament*,

prevailing class of demons; they are the *δαιμόνια* of the Greek, for which the Peshitto returns to the Jewish term.[35]

As Judaism has its feminine שידות, so once we find reference to the שידניאתא, 7: 14.[36] In 11: 5 = 18: 4 = Ellis 1, = Lidz. 5, we learn of a "king of demons and devils," with which compare Asmodaeus, the king of the demons.[37] But in these texts his name is given as אבונדאנא, בגדנא, which is found in 19: 10 as name of an evil deity (בר חבאל), while the plural in the same text, ll. 6, 13, has evidently the meaning demons or deities. In a broken text (Pognon B, no. 24, l. 19), a מלכא דשידיא occurs. In 29: 9 the *šêdîn* are described as בני טולא, "sons of shadow," cf. the טלני of the Targum.

The דיוין inherited a good name from the old Aryan theology (= gods), were depotentized in the Persian system, and came into Semitic currency through the Mandaic and Syriac. (The word does not occur in Targums and Talmud.[38]) In the Peshitto use of the term it appears to apply to the demons of mental and moral disorders, thus indicating something distinct from the *šêdîn*.[39]

The "spirits" or "evil spirits" (רוחין בישין, רוחא בישתא, רוח רעה — both masc. and fem.)[40] form a triad with the preceding species. Levy

49, 20; Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 43; and the discussions by the students of Assyriological magic, Zimmern (*Beiträge* and *KAT*[3]), Tallquist, Jastrow, Fossey. Fossey, p. 50, quotes IVR 6a, 26, to the effect that the *šedu* is the demon of the evil eye—another proof that demons and their functions were interchangeable.

[35] For these and the following demoniac species in Judaism, see Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, ii, 408 ff.; Grünbaum, in his admirable "Beiträge z. vergleichenden Mythologie aus d. Hagada," in *ZDMG*, xxxi, — esp. 271 ff.; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 242 ff.; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, ii, 759 ff.; Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, 10 ff.; Levy, *ZDMG*, ix, 482; T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbors* (London, n. d.); the art. "Demonology" in *Jewish Encyc.*; Conybeare, "Demonology of the New Testament," *JQR*, viii, ix; Everling, *Die paulinische Angelologie u. Dämonologie*; also v. Baudissin and H. Duhm as cited above, note 34.

[36] Cf. *δαίμονες δαιμόνισσαι*, of the Leyden Papyrus, Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 194, l. 10.

[37] Also simply the king, מלכא, Eisenmenger, *op. cit.*, ii, 422 (a tradition of the "Molek" of the Old Testament?).

[38] According to Levy, not found in Jewish literature, *op. cit.*, 488.

[39] Acc. to Baudissin, *op. cit.*, 131, the Harclean version replaces שאדא of the Peshitto w. דיוא.

[40] Cf. Ellis 5: 4, זכר ונקבה.

and Blau regard them as ghosts,[41] but without warrant, as the Rabbinic, Syriac and Mandaic use of the word shows. They are the *πνεύματα πονηρά*, or *ἀκάθαρτα* of the New Testament, the equivalent of the Babylonian *utukki limnûti*. This development of רוח we may trace in the Old Testament where "a spirit of evil," "the evil spirit," appears as an agent of Jahwe; like the Satan such potencies easily passed into malicious demons.

The *Mazzîḳîn* which are prominent in Jewish lore, where they are the general category for all demons,[42] appear but seldom.

These *devils, demons* and *evil spirits* in their juxtaposition recall the several species so frequently enumerated in Babylonian demonology; e. g. as listed more than once in the *Maḳlu*-series, the *utukku, šêdu, râbiṣu, ekimmu, labartu, labaṣu, aḥḥazu,* followed by the liliths.[43] But beyond the registration of several categories there is no equivalence in name (with one exception), in definite character.[44] A certain amount of distinction can be drawn in the Babylonian field, but in our texts no differentiation exists. Indeed the three species are rather tokens of the several sources of our particular magic, the Hebrew (רוח), Babylonian (שד), Persian (דיוא). The only reference to the "seven spirits" of Babylonian magic is in connection with the מבכלתא (see below).

But it is the Liliths which enjoy the greatest individual vogue in our demonology. Many of the charms culminate in that objective; the other evil spirits are most often merely generical, anonymous, to whom the general compliment of a spell must be paid, but the Liliths are definite terrors, whose malice is specific and whose traits and names are fully known.

[41] *Opp. cit.*, p. 482, p. 14. The view that demons were ghosts of the dead indeed existed; see Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i, c. 18 and for later Judaism, Eisenmenger, ii, 427. They may have been specialized as the spirits of demoniac possession and moral temptation (see Blau). For the relation of רוחין and *πνεύματα*, see Baudissin in Hauck's *RE*[3], vi, 12 f.

[42] So Weber, Blau.

[43] Tallquist, *Die ass. Beschwörungsserie Maqlu,* 1894, no. i, l. 136, v. l. 77, N. B. just seven species.

[44] For the distinctions between the Babylonian spirits, see Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 278; Thompson, *Devils,* i, xxiv, *Semitic Magic,* 1, Fossey, *op. cit.*, c. 2.

The genus appears in the Babylonian incantations, as masculine and feminine, *lilu* and *lilit*, along with an *ardat lili*.[45] The two former words survived in Jewish demonology and both occur abundantly in our bowls, though the *Lîlîn* are only pendants to the Liliths. The origin of the word, whether Semitic from לִיל = "nightmare, nighthag," etc. with Schrader, Halévy, *et al.*, or from the Sumerian *lil*, "storm," with Sayce,[46] Zimmern,[47] R. C. Thompson,[48] lies beyond my present scope. Probably as others have suggested, the resemblance of Sumerian *lil* to לִיל, "night," may have had its part in shaping the phantom of Lilith and her troop among Semitic-speaking peoples; but I would suggest that the prime connection is not etymological but semantic: *lil* = wind = רוח = spirit;[49] Lilis and Liliths are specialized forms of רוחין.[50]

In the Babylonian the Lilith (*ardat lili*) is the ghostly paramour of men, and her realm is the sexual sphere; hence women in their periods and at childbirth, maidens, children, are the special objects of her malice.[51] Hence in the bowl inscriptions, made out for the protection of homes and the peace of family life, most often in the name of the women concerned, it is an amulet against these noxious spirits that is particularly desired. We may say that the Lilis and Liliths are the demons of the family life.

Texts Nos. 1, 6, 8, 9, 11, 17, may be referred to especially for the Liliths. They haunt the house, 1: 6, lurk in the arches and thresholds, 6: 4, one dwells in the house concerned, 11: 5. So in the Talmud they dwell in the beams and crevices, the cesspools, etc.,[52] even as in Greek magic demons

[45] Acc. to Zimmern, *KAT*³, 459 = paramour of *lilu*. Better Thompson. (*Devils*, etc., i, p. xxxvii, *Semitic Magic*, 65), who regards the *ardat lili* as the more specialized (e. g. marriageable) lilith, hence the original of the Jewish Lilith.

[46] Hibbert Lectures, 145.

[47] *KAT*³, 460, n. 7.

[48] *Semitic Magic*, 66: if Semitic, from root ללה, "be abundant, lascivious."

[49] Cf. רוח in *Job* 4: 15; the wind-draught easily passes into a ghost.

[50] The single appearance of Lilith in the Old Testament, *Is.* 34: 14, represents a more primitive stage of the fable than the Babylonian Liliths. She is just one of the spirits haunting waste ruins.

[51] See Thompson, *l. c. et seq.*, who discusses the demonology of marriages with Jinns, etc.

[52] *Jewish Encyc.*, iv, 516b.—In 29: 6 f. (cf. l. 9) occurs לִיליתא בישתא וכשירא, "the evil and the decent lilith"; this recalls the good demons of Jewish lore, שידין טובין,

are given the like habitat.[53] In No. 1 they are described as generating offspring with human folks, appearing as phantom men and women to women and men by night. Hence the interesting phenomenon of the magic *get,* divorce-writ, by which the sorcerer, like a Jewish rabbi, separates these obscene beings from their prey.[54] Especially do they vent their rage on little children as the detested offspring of human wedlock; they plague them, throttle and devour them, suck their blood (e. g. 11: 8, 18: 6, 36: 9, Lidz. 5). The name for one of these demons, in No. 36, is "Murderess daughter of Murderess," and "strangler." In the Jewish demonology the Liliths have the like fiendish character; *Bemidbar Rabba* 16 affirms that they kill children.[55] In No. 11 the Lilith is associated with the personifications of barrenness and abortion. The figure on No. 8 gives the picture of a typical obscene Lilith; she is depicted with loose tresses, one of the characteristics of the species, cf. 8: 3; cf. *Nidda* 24b, *Erub.* 100b. The later Lilith thus partakes of the nature of the elder *lilit* and of the Labartu, the enemy of children.[56]

The Liliths are intimately known, their own and their parents', even the granddam's names are given, e. g. Nos. 8, 11. At the beginning of Wohlstein's text 2416 (= Stübe) a whole brood of demons is named.[57] Especially in the case of this species most exact descriptions are given of their foul ways and apparitions,[58] for the Liliths were the most developed products of the morbid imagination—of the barren or neurotic woman,

Eisenmenger, ii, 431 f., and the good and bad *šêdu* of the Babylonian—also so the *utukku,* Fossey, *op. cit.,* 449.

[53] Wessely, xlii, 66, l. 19: they are bidden "not to hide in this earth nor under the bed or gate or beams or vessels or holes."

[54] See to 8: 7. The separation had to be legally effected, for the Lilith had her nuptial rights or powers. Cf. the tales of the female Jinns in Arabic folklore.

[55] Cited by Weber, *op. cit.,* 255. So also in the Testament of Solomon, ed. Conybeare, *JQR,* xi, 16. But not in the Talmud, according to Grünbaum, *Zeits. f. Keilschr.-Forsch.,* ii, 226.

[56] See Myhrman, *ZA,* xvi, 147 ff.

[57] See Wohlstein's note; the mother's name אימי, "little mother," throws light on a passage in *Pesaḥ.* 112a. In general these names are epithetical; cf. the demon Ahriman bar Lilit, *B. Bath.* 73a.

[58] See above.

the mother in the time of maternity, of the sleepless child.[59] Somewhat of the elder and biblical notion of the Lilith as denizen of the desert appears in the expressions בנתא דברא, לילית דברה, 17: 3, 27: 7.[60]

A further development of the Lilith is her assimilation with the witch; the descriptions of the species in the Mandaic bowls recall the uncanny scenes of the witches' nights which are the theme of still existent folklore. The Lilith is the Baskania, (i. e. witchery) of the Greek charms.[61] The epithets "cursing," and "undoing," e. g. 34: 13, belong to this phase of the Lilith-idea.

Very interesting is the similarity of the Semitic Lilith, and in course of time her assimilation to the psychological horrors which haunted men elsewhere, especially to the identical forms in the Graeco-Roman demonology. I refer to the Lamia,[62] the Empusa,[63] the Gello,[64] the Marmolyke and Gorgons, and the *incubi* and *succubae*.[65] In connection with the text No. 42 which presents the legend of the Lilith-witch, I take occasion to present the parallel forms of this conception as found in the western world. This developed myth is a later accretion to the ancient inchoate ideas of these monsters.

[59] For the psychological basis and subjective fact of these apparitions, see Roscher, "Ephialtes" c. 1, in *Abhandlungen* of the Saxon Academy of Sciences, vol. xx (1900).

[60] Cf. *ekimmu ḫarbi, Maḳlu*-series iv, l. 22 (Tallquist, p. 66), and the exorcism, "evil spirit to thy desert," Thompson, *Devils,* i, 152, ii, 26; cf. i, 167, 191 ff. The banning of the demons into the desert and mountains (cf. *Mt.* 12: 43) is frequent in the magical papyri, e. g. in an amulet published by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 294: *ἵνα ἀπέλθατε ἐν ἀγρίοις ὄρεσιν καὶ ἐκεῖσε φυγαδευθήσετε*. Cf. Wohlstein 2422 (l. 28), "go and fall on the mountains and heights and the unclean beasts." As Wohlstein notes, the latter clause is a most interesting commentary on the anecdote of the Gadarene devils which asked the liberty to enter the swine, *Mt.* 8: 28, etc.

[61] See at length under No. 42.

[62] Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire, s. v.*

[63] Pauly-Wissowa, *RE, s. v.*

[64] For Gello as a lilith-name and as probably equal to Ass. *gallu,* see notes to No. 42.

[65] For the *incubi* see Roscher, *Ephialtes,* 60. The special demon which is the subject of this classic treatise corresponds to the male Lili of our texts, but his vogue is far more extended. He is in form goat, satyr, faun, etc., a rural as well as a domestic terror.

A long list of species of demons still remains to be considered, most of which are not much more than names. One of the most frequent and evidently most dreaded is the class of the מבבלין or מבבלתא. Once they are spoken of as the "seven מ׳ of night and day," 16: 7, recalling the Seven Spirits of Babylonian mythology.[66] Stübe (p. 59) suggests derivation from כבל, "bind," and Myhrmann (p. 350) compares Assyrian *kabâlu* used in incantations. I venture to suggest metaplasis with the Syriac לבך, "hold, seize," i. e. "take demoniac *possession* of," so that we may compare this species with the Babylonian *aḥazzu*.[67] Cf. *καταλαμβάνειν*, *Mk.* 9: 18, and the terms *κατεχόμενοι* and *κάτοχοι*, indicative of supernatural possession.[68]

There are the evil angels,[69] who are called קדישין = *sacri*, in 4: 1; the "angels of wrath and the angels of the house of assembly."[70] We read of the ראזי מלאכא, 37: 8, rites in which angels were bound to hellish operations. The word is used of pagan deities in 36: 5 (cf. 19: 13), even as *ἄγγελοι* appears in the papyri.[71] The angel of death who shudders at the Great Name appears in 3: 6, Schwab F.

"The Satan" appears and also "the Satans," as in *Enoch* (40: 7) and Rabbinic[72] and Arabic lore. There is no amplification of the doctrine of

[66] Cf. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 47.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 43, etc.

[68] See Tambornino, *De antiquo daemonismo*, 56.

[69] Cf. *Mt.* 25: 41, *Rev.* 12: 7, "the devil and his angels," and the absolute use of the word in this sense in I Cor. 11: 10, with reference to the myth in Gen. 6. Blau notes, without citation, an evil spirit רוח הקדש, p. 10, n. 2. For evil angels, see Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, § 23.

[70] Wohlstein 2422. The editor makes no comment on this or the parallel phrase in l. 7: איסרי דבית כנישתא. איסרי evidently equals מלאכי (see below, note 112). The "house of assembly" recalls the ancient Semitic idea of the הר מועד, *Is.* 14: 13, the assembly of the gods on the Semitic Olympus,—Walhalla having become a conventicle of demons! (Demons are located in the north by Jewish legend, *Pirḳe R. Eliezer*, iii, and other reff., in Eisenmenger, *op. cit.*, ii, 438.) Or כ׳ ב׳ = *συναγώγη*, *ἐκκλησία*, may refer to the conventicle of a magical cult (cf. "the synagogue of Satan," *Rev.* 2: 9). But the phrase is probably to be interpreted from a passage in a "Christian" amulet published by Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, 295, top: *ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὰ ἐνακόσια ἑξήκοντα πνεύματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ πονηροῦ.*

[71] E. g. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 192, l. 10; so also in the LXX, e. g. *Ps.* 96: 7, and an inscription cited by Cumont *Oriental Religions*, n. 38, p. 266: *diis angelis.*

[72] *Debarim R.*, c. 11: "Sammael the head of all the Satans," quoted by Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, 253.

the individual Satan. Once with the Satans (35: 4) are associated the סוטיטא and דיאבולא, the former a class of seducing spirits (metaplasm of √ סטא ?),[73] the latter the almost unique Semitic transliteration of *διάβολοι*. In 2: 3 are mentioned the סני ובעילדבבי, the Fiends and Foes.

The זיקין[74] appear in association with the מזיקין. The Rabbinic and Syriac זיקא is a meteor, blast of wind, etc.; in the Mandaic it has the more general sense of a plague.[75] The Mandaic has inherited an old Babylonian idea of the *zaḳiḳu,* "blast," as a demon, and then death-demon.[76] The Satyrs, שעירים, appear once, 5: 4, a reminiscence, as the form shows, of the Old Testament.[77] The שחורין of Schwab G are *black* devils; cf. the title of Satan *ὁ μελάς*, in Epistle of Barnabas, 4: 9.

In Hyvernat's text occurs the phrase גינא דשלמוה, which Grünbaum most plausibly translates "the Jinn of Solomon."[78] The word would then be one of a few terms in our texts which suggest Arabic connections (see שלניתא, שיקין, below). But the reserve is to be made that, as Nöldeke maintained, the root is common-Semitic, and the spread of the word may well have antedated the Muslim Conquest. We may compare the god Gennaios cited by Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 1174. The גנדא of 37: 6 is to be explained from the Mandaic גונדא (Syriac גודא Arabic *jund*), "troop"; devils molest their victims in bands, cf. the name "Legion" assumed by the demoniac in the Gospel, and the "tribes" (שורבתא) of demons in 38: 6; also cf. 13: 1.

[73] Cf. 1 *Tim.* 4. 1, "seducing spirits and doctrines of devils."

[74] So probably read for עקין in Hyvernat, l. 4; in 19: 13, זעקי.

[75] Norberg, *Lexidion,* 55.

[76] Muss-Arnolt, *Dict., ad voc.,* cf. the *šunu ziḳiḳu,* "roaming windblast," Thompson, *Devils,* ii, 4, l. 27. For the simile of demons to storms, see *ibid.,* i, 89, and compare the etymology of lilith (see above). For the word see 12: 8.

[77] But the idea of the hairy goatlike demon which obsesses its victim with mischievous or obscene purpose is universal. Cf. the Arabic *ifrit, azabb,* with the same root-meaning; Wellhausen, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums,* 135; Baudissin, *Studien,* i, 136. The same phenomenon is abundantly vouched for in the Greek demonology; see Roscher, *Ephialtes,* 29 f., for the goatlike form of the Ephialtes, and p. 62 for its epithet *pilosus;* and compare Pan and the Fauns. See Roscher, note 285b, for similar representations in the superstition of India. In 5: 4 the satyrs are represented as haunting a particular stretch of road.

[78] Probably to be read in 37: 10.

In 15: 6 and Myhrman l. 2 are found the ירורין. The second ר is sure in my text; Jastrow's and Levy's lexicons give the word as a variant to ירודא, "ostrich," but doubtless the former is the correct spelling;[79] the root is onomatopoetic (cf. יללי, and English "howl" and "roar"), connoting a howling creature and was applied to the ostrich—so the Tosefta (see Jastrow); but in the Targums it generally translates the Hebrew ציים, תנים, the uncanny creatures typical of desolation. In the Syriac, ירורא is jackal, translating תנים. But the Rabbinic references indicate that it was rather a fabulous than a zoological species, akin to the liliths, satyrs and vampires that haunt ruins, and this connotation appears in the Syro-hexaplar to *Is.* 34: 17, translating לילית by ירורא, while Symmachus gives λαμία.[80] This equation gives the key to our present word. The Babylonians represented their demons in uncouth shapes of birds and animals.[80a]

Besides the use of certain generic terms, such as עשמא, "oppressors," there remain several rare or obscure species: the לטבי, also לטאבי, probably metaplastic for *baṭṭâlâ,* "undoer"; the לטאנא (alongside סטאנא) No. 20, probably from root לוט "curse,"[81] or a form of the Targumic טלנא, "shade-demon." The שפטין in Hyvernat, l. 3, for which Grünbaum (p. 221) cites the Arabic *šifût, species daemonis,* is probably to be read שבטין, "plagues" (see p. 80). For the גיסי, possibly "familiar spirits," see to 6: 2.

There are also names of individual demons. Some can be identified: the חטפיתא, corresponding to the Arabic ghûl (see to 8: 2); מר a depotentized deity.[82] Some are recognizable epithets: אבדא 3: 2, מדובינא 37: 10, שרירי Schw. F. Others defy etymology: אישתקותקוף Pogn. B, דמקר 34: 10 (*q. v.* for a possible interpretation), דנחיש 3: 2, חמועית Schw. G. Long lists of such obscure names are found in Schwab F and G; these are probably on a

[79] According to Jastrow, Lagarde's editions of the Targums have everywhere this form; ילולין appears as a variant in one place.

[80] See Field's Hexapla. N. B. the interpretations of the uncanny creatures in this passage as demons by both the Greek and the Targum.

[80a] This word is to be distinguished from וריר, an eye-disease (see below); because of the uncertainty of the spelling of the two words the וריי at end of Schw. G may be the one or the other word.

[81] Cf. the Syriac שאדנא.

[82] Stübe, l. 4. See Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques,* 82; Clay, *Amurru,* 162.

par with the mystical names of the angels (see § 13).[83] Finally we may note the blanket-formulas for demons who are named and who are not named, and which have their parallel in the Babylonian,[84] and in the Greek magic.[85]

There are comparatively few certain references to ghosts; the רוחין, etc., as spirits of the dead, may include them.[86] One case in point is found in No. 39: "charmed the lilith that appears to her [in some shape]; charmed the lilith that appears to her in [the shape of ?] Tâtâ her niece; charmed all the defiling ghosts, דמואתא, that have entered, which appear to her in dreams of nights and visions of day." Here a definite ghostly apparition is really a diabolic delusion. Also Nos. 20, 25 contain general charms against ghosts. One technical term for ghost possibly appears, שלניתא (see to 8: 2). The last of Wohlstein's series, 2422, appears to be directed against ghosts and is an interesting example of necromantic spell. Familiar names are given to the spirits and they are cajoled to do no harm. Also in Wohlstein, no. 2422 appears the רוח בית קיברא ור' מיתו. There is constant reference to dreams (חילמא) and apparitions (דמותא, חזינא),[87] which are the *milieu* of demoniac and ghostly apparitions, cf. 7: 13; hence ח' שנושי, "disturbing dreams," in which phrase the noun is practically personified—a category of evil spirits. We have such a combination as: חראריא ושואריא וחיזוניא (Pognon A), in which חר' are impure conceptions of the night (cf. חלם in Syriac); the second word, which Pognon does not explain, is doubtless the Talmudic שוור, "leaper," exactly the Ephialtes of the Greeks, a kind of *incubus*.[88] This distinction of the dream from ghost or demon represents a later psychology. Charms against dreams are frequent in the Greek papyri; thus against *ὀνείρους φρικτούς*,[89]

[83] This giving of unintelligible names to demons may be in imitation of Persian diabolology; see Jackson in Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie*, iii, 659, listing 54 individual demon names.

[84] Thompson, *Devils*, i, 153.

[85] E. g. *δαιμόνιον καὶ μὴ ὀνομαζόμενον*, Pradel, *Griech. u. südital. Gebete*, 22, l. 2.

[86] For a typical Babylonian incantation against ghosts, see Thompson, *Devils*, i, 37.

[87] For oneirology in later Judaism, see Joel, *Der Aberglaube*, i, 103.

[88] See Roscher, *Ephialtes*, especially p. 48 f. for the etymology.

[89] Wessely, xlii, 31, top.

or a *φυλακτήριον σωματοφύλαξ πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πάσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος*;[90] another against enemies, robbers, etc. and *φόβους* and *φαντάσματα ὀνείρων*.[91] These dreams and the similar panic fears of day and night are also referred to *in extenso* in Gollancz's Syriac charms..

(2)

Respectable or "white" magic includes not merely the laying of evil spirits but counter magic[92] against the machinations of hostile sorcerers. Just so the Babylonian *Maḳlu*-series devotes itself to the rites of destroying the witch by means of simulacra which are consumed in the fire; the Greek magic has the same defensive purpose. The Mandaic texts recall somewhat of the ancient dread of witches with their description of those uncanny and obscene persons, and, as I have noted above, the witch and the lilith are practically identified.

It was most efficacious if the sorcerer were known so that he could be named and the "tables turned" upon him by casting upon him his malign arts, for no curse "returns empty." Such a case appears in Schwab G; all the evils that have fallen on the victim are bidden to fall on the head of אוסרא בר אמא. But examination of the name reveals that it is fictitious; אוסרא means "spellbinder" and אמא simply means "mother." The writer of the bowl has satisfied his client by assuming that he knows the adverse sorcerer's name. It is nothing else than the legal "John Doe." In like manner, in Wohlstein 2416, all evil works, etc., are commanded to return against their instigator.

But inasmuch as the sorcerer's names are not generally known, the incantations content themselves with listing the various kinds of magical practices and putting them under the potent spell. The *Šurpu*-series illustrates the prophylactic practice; for instance, its third tablet[93] is con-

[90] *Ib.*, 42.

[91] *Ib.*, 64. Dream-magic was highly developed among the Greeks; we have charms for sending dreams, *ὀνειροπομποί*, e. g. Dieterich, *op. cit.*, 191, l. 15. Magic is required as an antidote. Hence dreams are listed with other maleficent agencies, e. g.: *πνεύματα χθόνια, ἁμαρτίαι, ὄνειροι, ὅρκοι, βασκανία*; Wessely, xxxvi, 81, l. 81.

[92] Probably technically expressed by קיבלין.

[93] Zimmern, *Beiträge*, 13.

cerned with breaking every possible kind of ban (*mamît*) that may have befallen a person. Hence a recurring phrase in the praxis of the fifth tablet: "may the curse, the ban, the pain, the misery, the sickness, the grief, the sin, the misdeed, the impiety, the transgression, the sickness, which is in my body, be peeled off like this onion." We mark here the union of curses, etc. with evils of the flesh, just as they occur in our bowls.

Accordingly we find exorcism effected with this prudent intention against מעבדין, etc.;[93a] חרשין (+ בישין),[94] "black arts," perhaps generally with the sense of poisoning, = *φαρμακοποιία*;[95] סחריא, "sorceries," 39: 4;[96] קריתא, "invocations," (the singular קריה in 16: 10), the *ἐπικλήσεις* or *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* of maleficent magic,[97] also termed the בתקלא דק׳. There are the various terms or kinds of curses, the *mamît* of the Babylonian, the *ὅρκοι* of the Greek magic; the לוטתא, especially in Pognon's Mandaic bowls, where the authors of these bans are specified, e. g. no. 15: father, mother, prostitute, foetus, laborer, master who has defrauded him, brothers; also the frequent נידרי, maleficent "vows" and the חרימא, which is the Syriac Christian equivalent of *ἀνάθεμα*, perhaps also אלתי (Wohlstein, 2426: 5).[98] This listing of the bans and their originators has its abundant parallel in the Babylonian magic; e. g. the third tablet of the *Šurpu*-series, already cited, in which all possible kinds and origins of curse are listed in 165 lines: of father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, etc., posterity, infant.[99] The unborn child, naturally regarded as homeless and miserable, hence a malignant wraith, is classed in the Babylonian magic

[93a] For this and following technical names for sorcery, see § 11, beginning.

[94] Cf. the Latin equivalents, *nefaria sacra, maleficia, artes nefandae, malae artes;* see Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius,* 30.

[95] So in the Syriac, also in 7: 13. But *φάρμακον* survived in a good sense in literature with magical tinge, e. g. in no. 30 of Bishop Serapion's prayers, "Thy name be a *φ.* for health and soundness." For an extensive discussion of the word, see Abt, *Apuleius,* 112. It is formally impossible to distinguish between the words "sorcerers" and "sorceries," except in the Mandaic. Cf. the use of the adjective חוראשא, 39: 6.

[96] For these words see the convenient summary in T. W. Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbors,* 44 ff.

[97] See above, § 11. Pognon was the first correctly to interpret this term, B, p. 19.

[98] In 2: 6 we find גזירתא, שמתא, אחרמתא, used of the "white magician's" own work.

[99] A similar list in Ellis 3 = Schwab B. In the later magic these classes are listed in exorcism of the evil eye.

as in the Mandaic citation with the causes of ban, and so too the hierodule or prostitute.[100] The difference between the Babylonian *mamît* and these לוטתא is that the former has rather the sense of taboo, the latter of a malicious curse effected under foul auspices.[101]

Then there are the "names," e. g. 16: 8, שומהתא, of hostile invocations,[102] and the מילין, "words," curse formulas, including the informal imprecation. Compare "the evil word" of the witch in Babylonian magic,[103] and the current Babylonian phrase, "the evil mouth, the evil tongue, the evil lip."[104] The Talmud has the principle, "None open his mouth to Satan."[105] By a natural passage of thought the tongue and the mouth come in for exorcism, e. g.: "Bound and held be the mouth, and bound the tongue, of curses. Bound be the tongue in its mouth, held be its lips, shaken the teeth and stopped the ears of curses and invocations."[106] The binding of the tongue is a frequent element in the Greek magic; some thirty of the *κατάδεσμοι* in Wünsch's Appendix of *defixiones* to the *Corpus Inscript. Attic.* are for binding this "unruly member."[107]

Further objects of exorcism are the רזי, "mysteries," the sacramental rites of maleficent cults; the אכמרתא (Stübe, l. 2) and כמרי (Wohlstein, 2426: 5), enchantments effected by priests (כומרין).[108] A unique word in its use in the bowls is אישלמתא, found coupled with the above terms. Halévy and Wohlstein[109] compared form IV of the Arabic verb and rendered it as a delivery to evil. But it is to be compared with the Targumic אישלמו, used

[100] Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 367, 373.

[101] So the Greek *κατάδεσμοι*, and the Jewish collection of charms in Thompson, "Folk Lore of Mossoul," *PSBA*, xxviii-ix.

[102] Cf. the names of Hecate in the Greek *κατάδεσμοι*, e. g. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, no. 1.

[103] See Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 285.

[104] Fossey, *op. cit.*, 50, with citations.

[105] *Berak.* 19a, 60a, *Ketub.* 8b; see Joel, *Der Aberglaube*, i, 70 (but rationalizing), and Blau, *op. cit.*, 61, with Talmudic instances.

[106] Lidz., 4.

[107] Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 307. An amulet of later age (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 295) analyzes the evil tongue into the lie, accusation, magic, sycophancy.

[108] So rightly Stübe; the heathen priest was, and at last appeared exclusively to be, a magician. On the second of Wünsch's *Fluchtafeln* is the design of an altar.

[109] *Comptes rendus*, IV, v, 292; *ZA*, viii, 336.

in *Targ. Jer.* to *Lev.* 8: 28, etc., in sense of dedication, = חנוך. Its counterpart is found in the Mandaic system, where the שלמאניא are the *τέλειοι*,[110] and it is the exact equivalent of the Greek *τελετή*, the (magic) rites.[111] Also the usual terms, the איסרי,[112] the קיבלי, "countercharms," the קיטרי, etc., all are listed for exorcism.

More obscure are the סתרתא (Ellis 3: 10) = "hidden arts" —with which may be possibly compared the שדרתא of Schwab R, and Wohlstein, 2426: 6.[113] Also the שיקופתא (once אשתקופתא) have aroused question. Schwab proposed שקף, "envisager," of the evil eye; Stübe, Wohlstein, Lidzbarski, connect with the root "to knock" (cf. שקף used of a Lilith, 11: 6).[114] This meaning is corroborated by the amulet of Lidzbarski's just cited, where it is parallel to חרבא and קריא (l. 11 ff +), wasting and mishap. But from its peculiar intensive form I think the word must have some connection with magic arts; cf. the modern spiritualistic knockings and rappings.

Probably the exorcism in the fragment published by Schwab, *PSBA*, xii, 299, from sin and guilt (חטאתא, אשימא), immediately after "arts" and

[110] Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, 120, 170; *Mand. Schr.*, 8, n. 5, 36, n. 1; Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, p. xxviii.

[111] Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 136. Stübe (p. 37) first offered the explanation given above. Pognon discusses an obscure phrase in his bowls פתיכרי ואשלמתאנון (B, p. 49), translating "and their adherents." Lidzbarski treating the same phrase (*Eph.* i, 94) rightly takes exception to such a form and translates, "I deliver them," which is unsatisfactory. Probably our noun is to be understood here, reading the nominal suffix ון—for the verbal ינון—. Our word may be a translation of the Greek *τελετή*; but n. b. Robertson Smith's note on the mystery idea involved in *aslama* (he might have added the Hebrew שלמים), *Rel. Sem.*, 80.

[112] Nöldeke, *Z. f. Keils.-forsch.*, ii, 299, animadverting upon Hyvernat holds that איסרא, translated "prince, angel," always means "charm." Now the parallelism in Wohlstein 2422 between איסרי דבית כנישתא, l. 7, and מלאכי דב' כ', l. 15 (see above, n. 70), appears to approve Hyvernat, while in the Talmud א' = "genius, angel" (e. g. א' דמזוני, angel of nourishment). But Nöldeke's etymology is doubtless right; a genius to be invoked was himself called an *incantamentum*. A proof of this is found in the Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski in the *Florilegium* dedicated to de Vogüe, p. 349, in l. 29 f. (not understood by the editor—cf. l. 210), where Hibel Ziwa is the גטרא דכושטא, "the True Charm"; ג' = קיטרא = איסרא. Cf. the Mandaic genius "Great Mystery."

[113] Wohlstein: "böse Schickungen"; or it may be related to Assyrian *satâru, sadâru*, "write," of a written charm.

[114] So in a Babylonian text, of demons: "The man they strike, the women they hit," Fossey, *op. cit.*, 282.

"vows," with which compare the אישעם ביש in his text M 18, is exercised against practices which magically placed "sin" on the shoulders of some innocent person. Compare the symbol in Zecharia's vision of the removal of wickedness and its curse to the land of Shinar (*Zech.* 5). But there is doubtless a reminiscence here of the old Babylonian forms in which a sense of personal guilt appears in the incantations; so frequently in tablets 5 and 6 of the *Šurpu*-series, e. g. 5, l. 77 ff., where the summary is made of "the curse, the ban, the pain, the misery, the sickness, the ailment, the sin (*arni*), the misdeed (*šerti*), the offence (*ḫablati*), the transgression (*ḫiṭiti*)." The above would be the only case then of a sense of sin in our texts, but from the point of view that the sin has been inspired by a demoniac force. Heitmüller pertinently remarks:[115] "Die Sünde ist ein Art Besessenheit." And so sins are listed in the Greek objects of exorcism, e. g. *πνεύματα χθόνια, ἁμαρτίαι, ὄνειροι, ὅρκοι, βασκανίαι.*[116]

The malice (סינתיא = סנאתא) of Lidz. 4 is the enmity which magic could conjure up against an enemy, a dreaded means of revenge, and very frequent in ancient magic. Compare the Jewish charms from Mossoul having this specific object,[117] and for the Greek world the Cypriote leaden tablets published by Miss L. MacDonald,[118] in which the gods are constantly invoked to suppress the wrath and anger and power and might of the adversary.[119] A tablet to provoke such malice against an enemy is no. 2 in Wünsch's small collection.[120] The חיל ביש or חיל בישין (30: 4) is a summing up or personification of all this kind of evil potency.

Particularly dreaded were the material means of sorcery, amulets, etc., which themselves came to be personified into evil spirits. The most frequent of these objects of exorcism are the חומרי (sing. חומרתא),[121] small stones, beads, etc., carried singly, or on strings and necklaces, primarily used as amulets, but coming to possess at least in the Mandaic superstition

[115] *Op. cit.*, 307.

[116] Wessely, xxxvi, 81, l. 1443 ff. (the Paris Papyrus).

[117] Thompson, *PSBA*, xxviii, 106, 108, etc.

[118] *Ib.*, xiii, 160.

[119] Cf. the charm in Wessely, xlii, 60 f.

[120] See the editor's comment, p. 8.

[121] For their character as spirits, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, 76.

a baneful influence.[122] We might think of the manipulation of, for instance, an opal to bring another ill-luck; but probably the objects are more obscene, joints of dead men's bones, etc. Their standing epithet is "impious,"—ח׳ זידניתא, and we read of their "tongue," e. g. 2: 7.[123] The ענקתא, "necklace charms" are exorcised in like manner,[124] also the שיבין (15: 6, *q. v.*);[125] כיפא, "pebble," Ellis 3: 11, would belong to the same class, but it is probably to be read כוסא.

The magic bowls themselves are among the evil influences (7: 13, perhaps Ellis *l. c.*), and so the magic knots, קיטרי, 7: 13, and עיקדי (?) 34: 10. There is one reference to the magic circle of the doctors of sorcery, חזאר רבאניא,[126] and to the use of wax, קירא, both in 39: 7 (*q. v.*). The סרני of 7: 11 (*q. v.*) and the גרגלי of Pognon B, no. 27, may be explained like חזאר = circles. The זיפי of 7: 13 (*q. v.*), entered between the "arts" and "bowl," may be the hairs of the victim as used in magic.

[122] The museums of antiquities possess many such necklace charms, which are often composed of stones of the shape of a drop or an eye—prophylactic against the evil eye? See for example, the illustrations to the art. "Amuletum" in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grec. et rom;* Elworthy, *The Evil Eye,* fig. 21. For the use of stones in Babylonian magic, see the 3d tablet of the *Labartu*-series and Myhrman's note thereon, *ZA,* xvi, 151; cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.,* i, 338, and Thompson, *Semitic Magic,* p. lxiii. In Syriac חומרא is also used of the joints of the vertebra = the *sappu* of the ass as prescribed in the *Labartu* texts. With this cf. the prescription of *parvum asini freni anulum in digito portandum,* Cyranides ii, 15, 6, ed. Mély and Ruelle, *Les lapidaires grecs,* Paris, 1898, quoted by Tambornino, *De ant. daemonismo,* 83. The mystical properties of stones in Egyptian lore is well known, and they were associated with the metals and planets; see Berthelot, *Les origines d'alchimie,* Paris, 1885, 47, 218 ff., etc. For the use of stones and bones as prophylactics against the evil eye, see Seligmann, *Der böse Blick,* ii, 24, 141 ff. For Hellenistic references and bibliography, see Abt, *Apuleius,* 115. Buxtorf and Levy, in their dictionaries, *s. v.,* and Grünbaum, *ZDMG,* xxxi, 263, understand these charms as pearls or corals.

[123] Cf. the *λίθος μάγνης πνέων*; see Abt, *op. cit.,* 115, 121, and n. b. the *baitulia* described as *λίθοι ἐμψυχοι* by Philo of Byblos, Eusebius, *Praep. evang.,* i, 6.

[124] Once, as though misunderstood, masculinized. אנקי, 12. 9; also אנקתא.

[125] For these articles see Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie,* i, 203 ff.; Blau, *op. cit.,* 91.

[126] For the Babylonian ideas of the virtue of the circle, see above, § 8. Choni, the famous rainmaker in the Talmud, was called המעגל, the circle-drawer, because of his use of this device, *Taanith* 3: 8; see Blau, *op. cit.,* 33. According to Joel, *op. cit.,* i, 33, Choni was an Essene, but he appears to have stood in good repute with the orthodox.

To that very malignant potency, the Evil Eye—Nature's endowment of sorcery—there is comparatively little reference in the bowls, although in the later magic of East and West it is often the chief, if not the sole object of exorcism.[127] The longest pertinent passage in the Nippur texts is 30: 3 f.: "the eye of man or woman,[128] the eye of contumely, the eye that looks right into the heart." By the word רמאוא Pognon, B, p. 41, thinks is meant one who casts the evil eye. Or from its idea of "beckoning" may it be connected with the malicious "putting forth of the finger," e. g. *Is.* 58: 9 and cf. possibly Code Hammurabi, § 123. Grünbaum is doubtless right in holding[129] that among the Jews the evil eye was of a different character from the western Jettatura, referring rather, as also in the Old Testament (cf. also *Mt.* 20: 15), to the moral powers of envy, hatred, and so forth; the evil eye is rationalized and moralized. Wellhausen also notes the connection of the evil eye and envy in early Arabian thought.[130]

(3)

We come now to those objects of exorcism which to modern science and "common sense" appear as natural physical or psychical maladies, but which ancient thought regarded as actuated by demons, even to the extent that the malady in question was personified as an evil spirit. It is a question how far we have in this phenomenon the survival of ancient animism which peopled the universe with spirits good and evil, and how far in the *fin de siècle* magic of these bowls we have the result of a (poetical?) personification of evil which comes to be taken as real by the superstitious mind. The ancient demonology survives but it is reinforced by the hypostatizations and personifications of the play and fancy of the later mind, working sometimes in the field of a worse superstition, sometimes at the service of the free and philosophic imagination.[131] In the Old Testament the Word, the

[127] For Talmudic notions, see Blau, *Zauberwesen,* 152; Joel, *Aberglaube,* i, 74.

[128] A Palestinian amulet published by the writer in *JAOS,* 1911, 281: "from the eye of his father, mother, women, men, virgins ailment and shame and spirit and demons."

[129] *ZDMG,* xxxi, 260 f.

[130] *Reste arab. Heid.,* 143.

[131] Cf. the issue of the Platonic Ideas into the Gnostic Aeons.

Spirit of Yahwe, even his Sword (*Am.* 9: 4, cf. *Gen.* 3: 24), are personified; the evil spirit of Yahwe (1 *Ki.* 22) becomes in the end an evil spirit antagonistic to its origin; the sevenfold gift of the Spirit in *Is.* 11, 2, Greek text, issues in the Seven Spirits about the throne of God, *Rev.* 1: 4. And so the Chariot and the Wheels and the Beasts that accompany God's theophany came under the same treatment of mystical personification.[132] It is a similar phenomenon that we find in the Testament of Solomon; the seven demons brought to book by Solomon give their names as "Deception, Strife, Battle," etc. or the thirty-six elements (στοιχεῖα) are hypostatized into moral essences;[133] and in the same manner the Church personified the Seven Deadly Sins, which the Protestant Spenser dramatized in his perfect poetry. For various psychological reasons there was an increasing multiplication of the evils against which exorcism might be practiced; not only specific demons, like Tiu the Babylonian fiend of headache, but diseases under other names, and social evils such as enemies, loss of property, shame, might be exorcised. Probably the more intelligent man regarded this as a rational substitution for the elder demonology, while to the superstitious it merely meant more demons. At all events in the later magic we find more of the hypostatization of natural ills—how seriously it is to be taken is not always certain, and their commonplace names are simply given, whereas the old Babylonian magic would name the demoniac germ of the malady. Hence in our lists of exorcised ills we have in addition to the actual devils, already catalogued, series of evils which are somewhat on the borderland of diabolology. The old exorcisms still are effective but the old demonology is not ample enough; a man wants to exorcise headache, while he may be skeptical as to the existence of Tiu. Probably too as the exorcist ("medicine man") was also the physician, and medicine was born out of magic rites. we may observe in the naming of the actual maladies an intrusion of the rational spirit.[134]

[132] So the "thrones, dominions, principalities, powers," of Paul (*Col.* 1: 16); not only Gnosticism worked out this line of thought but also the Church took this heavenly hierarchy seriously.

[133] *JQR*, ix, 24, 34. So in Hermas, the vices of the tongue are called δαιμόνια (καταλαλία, etc.) *Mand.*, ii, 2: 3; cf. v, 2: 7; xii, 2: 2.

[134] *Aḫḫazu* becomes the name of a certain fever (a "yellow" fever), Küchler, *Beitr. z. Kenntniss d. ass.-bab. Medezin*, 61. N. B. the assignment of the several

In the Babylonian we find cases in the magical texts of the summarizing of specific maladies along with the demons. A long and interesting example is presented by Jastrow.[135] The series is introduced by a list of physical ills—contortions, broken limbs, affection of liver, heart, gall-bladder, etc. Then follow the evil eye, curses, calumny, etc., and then certain named demons; the text is an interesting predecessor of our inscriptions except that it places the maladies first. Is this the consequence of a rationalistic tendency? In the texts published by Küchler we find semi-magical prescriptions for diseases alone.

The New Testament gives a first-hand insight into the popular demonology of a representative portion of the oriental world at the beginning of our era. We find there devils of dumbness and deafness and blindness (*Mt.* 12: 22,*Mk.* 9: 17, etc.); one woman had "a spirit of infirmity," *πνεῦμα ἀσθενείας*, *Lu.* 13: 11; Simon's mother-in-law was seized with a great fever and Jesus rebuked the fever, *ἐπετίμησεν*[136] *τῷ πυρετῷ*,[137] even as in another case he rebuked the wind. And Jesus gave his disciples power "over unclean spirits to cast them out and heal every disease and every malady," Mt. 10.[138]

In the Egyptian magic there is the like identification of diseases with demons,[139] and the Greek magical papyri are full of it. Cf. the title of a charm given by Wessely, *φυλακτήριον σωματοφύλαξ πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πάσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος*,[140] So in the samples of Syriac charms published by Gollancz[141] we have the same summarization of "all manners of diseases" along with the demons, e. g. p. 79: Exorcised, etc. be "all demons, devils, phantoms, every practice, all temptations, unclean spirits, cruel dreams, dark

demons, *asakku, namtaru,* etc., to the different parts of the body, head, throat, etc.; Myhrman *ZA,* xvi, 146.

[135] *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, 367 ff. As Jastrow says, we gain here "a further insight into the connection between the medical calling and that of the exorcist." Other examples, Thompson, *Devils,* i, 17, 145, etc.

[136] = Hebrew גער.

[137] An angel *ἄγγελος*, of fever, *et al.*, appears in Byzantine charms; see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 19. It is the Rabbinic איסרא, discussed above, n. 112.

[138] See at length Conybeare, *JQR,* viii, 583, etc.

[139] Cases cited by Budge, *Egyptian Magic,* 206 ff.

[140] xlii, 39, l. 589.

[141] *Actes du* 11*ième Congrès des Orientalistes,* Section 4, 77.

apparitions; fear[142] and trembling, terror and surprise, dread, anxiety, excessive weeping; fever-panic, tertian fever, all kinds of fever, febrile ills, inflammations, etc.; when a child troubles its mother with pains of travail;[143] tumors, pestilences, ... all pains and all sicknesses, all wounds and all oppositions, surprises, revenges the nine sicknesses," etc. And Vassiliev has published a number of Byzantine charms directed especially against specific diseases,[144] the first of which is a general panacea: *ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς πάντα τὰ ἀκάρθατα πνεύματα, ἡ βασκανία, ἡ φαρμακεία, ἡ φοβερισμὸς, ἡ φρίκη, ἡ πυρετὸς, ἡ ἐπίβουλον, ἡ συνάντημα*[145] *πονηρὸν, ἡ νοσερὸν, ἡ κωφὸν, ἡ τυφλὸν, ἡ ἄλαλον, ἡ σεληνιακὸν, ἡ μηθεις (sic) θάνατον, ἡ ἀλλοιούμενον, ἡ μορφούμενον, ἡ ἄρσεν, ἡ θῆλυ, ἡ νοσημάτων (sic).*[146]

The most common of the demoniac categories bearing upon physical maladies are those with the general significance of "stroke, plague": נגעא especially epidemic disease, שובטא; פנעי, and n. b. פנעית 16: 10; מחותא, Mand. מחיתא; שיט (שוט?) 34: 10, 39: 4;[147] also the חססא, "sufferings."[148] Cf. *Ps.* 91: 5, a psalm and a verse which the Jews regarded as a valuable phylactery, and *Ps.* 89: 33. The שיקופתא treated above may be included here, = *ῥάπισμα*.

It is a minority of the bowl inscriptions which refer to special diseases. Of our texts Nos. 11, 16, 24, 29, 34, are of this character; so also a clause in Lidzbarski 5; lists of diseases appear in Wohlstein 2422, apparently mostly cutaneous affections,[149] and at the end of Schwab G.

[142] Fears are a frequent object of exorcism in the Greek magic, e. g. Wessely, xlii, 64, l. 25, and collation of the subject by Tambornino, *De ant. daemonismo,* 58, 65 f.; see also Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 86 f.

[143] This in earlier magic would have been ascribed to the jealous Lilith.

[144] *Anecdota graeco-byzantina,* i, 332.

[145] Cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 196, l. 21, etc.; explained by Pradel as of a demon's occurrence, *Süd-ital. Gebete,* 96. So in Schwab G, קריתא, and cf. use of verb = קרא.

[146] For a survey of the Hellenistic personifications of disease, see Tambornino, *op. cit.,* 62 ff.; e. g. insanity = *Mania; Febris,* etc.; also see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 19, Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur,* 125.

[147] Cf. the prayer of the Bishop Serapion directed against *πᾶσα πληγή, πᾶσα μάστιξ, ... ῥάπισμα* , in Wobbermin, *Altchristliche liturg. Stücke,* in *Texte u. Untersuchungen,* N. F., xvii, 2, p. 13.

[148] The חסאתא, Schw. M: 17, right after "arts" and before אשעם ביש may refer to tortures inflicted by magical operations.

[149] See Fränkel's criticism of readings, *ZA,* ix, 308.

We find listed general names of diseases, e. g. מארעין, כיבי, כורהני קשיי; a large number of cutaneous diseases: חרסא, חפפותא, חכרכה, חזזית, גרבא, חרסום;[150] a series in 24: 2: אישיתא, אונא, אזיתא, probably fevers. In Schwab G we read of איקדי (= Wohlstein, יקדי, "fevers"), חבלא, עלמא, אישתא and אישתא (neo-Syriac, malarial fever),[151] ערומא ("swelling"?), שחופתא ("consumption," Rabb. שחפת) מי בישי (?).[152] שערתא, 11: 2, is possibly "fever." The demons referred to in 34: 10 (*q. v.*) may be the spirits of cancer, tumor of the eye, dysentery, and in l. 13 palsy of hand and foot.[153] A long list of fevers is presented in the first of Gollancz's Syriac charms.

In the Berlin bowl 2416 Wohlstein reads a certain affection as וריר ביישתא, translating it "böser Fluss"; Stübe reads it וריד ב', interpreting it, by a desperate solution, as the sacrificial jugular vein which he supposes was used as a maleficent charm. Jastrow in his Lexicon gives both וריר and ירוד, = leucoma of the eye (again the same confusion of ד and ר as in the word ירורא discussed above),[154] The correct spelling is וריר and it is closely related to סנורים, "blindness," *Gen.* 19: 11, 2 *Ki,* 6: 18. The root is parallel to ברר "be clear, bright" (cf. the Assyrian);[155] the sense of blindness in connection with this root arose from the fact that the sun produces blindness (eye-diseases are most common in the Orient), or from the dazzling sensation suffered by those affected with certain optical diseases.

No. 29: 7 we have a characteristic magical prescription for a woman who is exorcised from the various categories of devils and charms (ענקתא)

[150] For these and the following terms, see Glossary C.

[151] A disease *ašû* in Assyrian, Küchler, *op. cit.,* 131, 197.

[152] Wohlstein, 2422: 20, dropsy or urinary affection? Fränkel (*ib.,* 309) cft. *Ḥull.* 105b, and explains as "water from which a demon has drunk." It may be the eye-disease known to the Jews as "water," see Preuss (cited in next note), p. 305.

[153] For the diseases in the Bible and Talmud see *Jewish Encyc.* art. "Medicine," and iv, 517 f. for demons of diseases, with bibliography, viii, 413 f.; noteworthy treatments that have since appeared are Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie,* i, § 104, J. Preuss, *Biblisch-talmudische Medezin,* 1911 (with extensive bibliography), while Fishberg, *The Jews,* 1911, cc. 13-15, may be consulted with profit. Many of the medical terms in the bowls are not to be found in the Jewish literature.

[154] For this "Yarod" disease, see Preuss, *op. cit.,* 308. He notices also the eye-disease ריר, a form of our word, p. 310.

[155] The Talmudic formula against blindness, *Shabriri, briri, riri, ri, Ab. Z.* 12b, etc., is formed from this root.

and then from כיפסא, a menstruation malady (?); then are mentioned מבכלתא ובנתא דברא which are evidently the causes of feminine irregularities, followed by טומי, "pollutions" (fluxes?), and the בר ניפלא, probably epilepsy. In a badly arranged series in No. 16 we find (l. 9) the רוח כרי ונאלי, literally "the spirit (= breath?) of stench and asthma," i. e. of the foul or labored breath symptomatic of diseases (see *ad loc.*). In 11: 3 f., again a charm for a woman, after the list of demons appear עקרתא and תכלתא which we should translate "barrenness" and "bereavement," understanding them as personified.[156] But in the parallel Mandaic text of Lidzbarski's (see to No. 11) bereavement has become a Lilith (תאכלתא ליליתא, ת' = *takkâltâ*). Which is the original of these forms? In 34: 10 אכערון וקמתא might be rendered, "ugliness and distortion," with which compare the charms of the Greek youths in the papyri for health, good looks, etc.[157]

Another class of evils are those of a social nature. So poverty מיסכינותא, figures in 34: 12, but from two other passages we see that it is the hostile witchcraft that would effect poverty in the victim's life which is exorcised: אסרה דמ', "the genius of poverty," 16: 10, and Lidz., 4: תיפוק אקריתא אקתא ומ', where "distress" and "sickness" are epexegetical to "invocations." Again in 34: 12 is found an exorcism against all kinds of losses: זינא יצערי. חורסנא ותובא in 7: 11 are troubles involving shame.[158]

We mark that the rationalization of maladies had not gone very far; the decadent Babylonians were satisfied with the exorcism of devils and witchcraft and avoided the diagnosis of diseases. For modern magical practice in this field see the collection of Jewish charms published by R. C. Thompson, "Folklore of Mossoul," *PSBA,* 1906-7. In these the spirits have fled, but the ancient magical practices remain effective.

[156] Cf. the constant personification in Greek magic of *βασκανία.*

[157] E. g. Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 197, l. 3.

[158] Cf. the מהוש וצער of my amulet published in *JAOS,* 1911, 281.

§ 13. Propitious Angels, Deities, Etc.

In the Babylonian exorcistic system the beneficent gods and spirits were arrayed and invoked against the demons and ills that affected human kind. Jastrow gives a specimen of such an invocation of some twenty deities[1] and discusses at length these various lists and their orders.[2] In another example, given by Reisner,[3] fifty great gods, seven gods of destiny, 300 Annunaki of heaven and 600 of earth, are invoked. It is not inevitable then that we must go to Persian dualism to discover the origin of the Jewish angelology. Absolute monotheism with its desire that the one God be exalted alone broke down before the specious and alluring argument that there must be more who are with us than those who are against us (*2 Ki.* 6: 16).

It is to be premised that in many of our texts the religious element is very deficient; reliance is placed upon bans and formulas with often no reference to Deity or other personal agencies of friendly character. Those inscriptions in which such supernatural agencies apart from God are invoked may be divided into three classes, representing so many distinct origins. There are those in which the well known names and name-formations of the Jewish angelology appear; although, as remarked above, § 12, the word "angel" is not used in all cases in the usual Jewish sense (often = deity). Then there are the genii of the Mandaic religion, mostly with names of outlandish formation. And finally there are the invocations of evidently pagan origin in which deities are named, although unfortunately most of their names are obscure or perverted by the text tradition. Further these different elements are confused and what appears like a good Jewish text at times admits a pagan deity into its celestial

[1] From the *Šurpu*-series, iv, l. 68 ff.

[2] *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, 289.

[3] *Sum.-bab. Hymnen*, iv, l. 152 ff.

hierarchy—somewhat as the mediaeval Church came to canonize the Buddha.

(1) We need not dwell long upon the Mandaic genii. Pognon has given a survey of those occurring in his bowls,[4] to which may be added a few more from Lidzbarski's and my texts. Some of the names are patterned after the Jewish angelic nomenclature, e. g. עורפעיל (= רופאל), or have forms in *-ai,* e. g. בעודאי, ננוחנאי, called "angels" (No. 38), or we find a name קאטריאוים patterned after the obscure Mandaic principles Piriawis and Sindiriawis. A number of the names are not found in the known Mandaic literature.[5]

(2) The angelology of the apparently Jewish texts and the angelic nomenclature are not as elaborate as we find in later Jewish literature, e. g. the *Sword of Moses*[6] or the *Sefer Raziel,*[7] the bulk of which consists of lists of angelic names.[8] The majority of our texts have no such names. The most common angels are Michael, Gabriel, Raphael. As a rule the names are formed in *-el,* although other formations appear and quite un-Jewish potencies are brought in as angels. Our texts stand on the borderland of Jewish angelology and not within its orthodox development.

Taking up first the known angels, we find that Michael does not have necessary precedence.[9] He sometimes appears in the first place followed by Gabriel, Raphael, Nuriel, *et al.* (e. g. Nos. 14, 34, Hyv.), but as often the order has Gabriel first,—Gabriel, Michael, Raphael (Nos. 7, 20, Myhrman, Wohlstein 2422, 2416), or Gabriel occurs without Michael (e. g.

[4] B, p. 93.

[5] In Ellis 1 the Mandaic genius Abatur is an evil spirit, and is classed among the ghostly spirits in Wohlstein, 2417: 6. N. B. the occurrence of this name as Abyater in an Ethiopic apocryphon, Littmann, *JAOS,* xxv, 28. Afriel, *ib.,* 29, is a form of Raphael, corresponding to the form occurring in the bowls; see Glossary A, *s. v.*

[6] Gaster, *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.,* 1896, and in separate imprint.

[7] Composed by Eleazar of Worms, 13th cent.

[8] See, in general, Schwab, *Dictionnaire de l'angélologie,* 1897 (in *Mémoires* of Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-lettres, Series 1, vol. 10, part 2). The Essenes laid great stress on the names of angels, Josephus, *Bell. jud.,* ii, 8: 7.

[9] See Lueken, *Michael,* 1898, especially § 4.

Nos. 10, 15).[10] The latter order is of course that of their appearance in the Jewish literature (Old Testament and *Tobit*). Other angels may precede these or occur without them. Aniel appears as the fourth in a tetrad (Wohlstein 2416).

The title peculiar to Michael in Jewish lore, the Great Prince, השר הגדול (*Dan.* 12, *Aboda Z.* 42b, etc.), appears in 5: 3, but without specific reference, and at the end of No. 7 in the list of angels, which in its occurrence at the beginning of the text names Gabriel first, Armasa is "the great lord"; so the application of the epithet is uncertain. In Hyvernat's text, which appears to be comparatively late, we find Michael's full glory expressed: "the mighty, the king, genius of the law" (גברא מלכא איסרא דאוריתא). In 34: 7 he is called the "healer" (אסיא), Raphael "reliever" (מדוליא), and Gabriel the "servant of the Lord." the title "healer" suggests that the frequent opening invocation, "In thy name, O Lord of salvation (אסותא), great Saviour (אסיא) of love," which is not a regular Jewish form of address to Deity, may refer to Michael;[11] but the supposition is not reinforced by the position Michael takes in these texts. In Wohlstein 2416 kabbalistic surnames are given to Gabriel and Michael, אלפסס and דמותיה (so W. would read), the latter, "likeness of Yah," corresponding to the later Jewish notions concerning Michael as almost θεὸς ἕτερος. Cf. the kabbalistic forms in 24: 4 (of angels?) and the group of seven barbarous names in Schwab M, Dalal, Salal, Malal, etc., presumably standing for the seven archangels.[12] Reference to the latter is made once, in the introduction to Stübe's text (= Wohlstein 2416) where exor-

[10] See for early precedence *ibid.*, p. 36 f.; e. g. in *Enoch* 20: Uriel, Rafael, Raguel, Michael, Sarakael, Gabriel. For Gabriel we may note that the Mandaeans gave him high honor, identifying him with Hibel—Ziwa (Norberg, *Onom.*, 33; Brandt, *Mand. Schr.*, 21), while they appear to have ignored Michael.

[11] Lueken, *Michael*, 11, 87: M. is price of love. For the epithet referred to, see notes to No. 3.

[12] Cf. the dictum of *Sefer Raziel* (quoted by Schwab, *Dictionnaire*, 7) that in divination it is necessary to pronounce the mystic names of the planets. Cf. a form of charm in Wessely, xlii, 65, where the seven angels are named in one column, and parallel to them two rows of barbarous mystical names, the first column containing varying permutations of the seven vowels; e. g. *αεηιουω χυχ μιχαηλ νυσεν.* N. B. the many mystical or magical names of the deities or "angels" in the Harranian philosophy; Dozy and de Goeje, *Actes* of 6th Congress of Orientalists, II, i, 297.

cism is made in the name of Metatron, Hadriel, Nuriel, Uriel, Sasgabiel Hafkiel, Mehafkiel,[12a] "who are the seven angels that go and turn around heaven and earth and stars and zodiac and moon and sea."[13]

In this last series Metatron takes the place that should be given to Michael. Metatron[14] appears earlier as one of the (six) archangels, in Targum Jer. to *Dt.* 34: 6: Michael, Gabriel, Metratron, Jophiel, Uriel, Yephephia. He is really a rival figure to Michael, springing from a different religious concept; Michael is an angel, the patron of Israel, hence the Angel, *par excellence,* the representative of deity.[15] Metatron is in origin an *idea,* Platonic, Philonic, however we may call it, produced by the necessity of a Demiurge, a "second god" between Deity and man.[16] It is interesting to watch the somewhat unlike histories of the rival ideas. Michael remains an angel, but Metatron becomes more and more a mystic being; he is associated with the Enoch and Elija legends, and his identity with these human beings may be described as an assimilation of them to Metatron or as his incarnation in them; he is both divine and human.[17] To the mystic, the kabbalist, such a figure is more sympathetic than the archangel (cf. the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews!), and so he replaces or absorbs Michael. Hence he is described in terms like those given to Michael. Eisenmenger quotes (p. 396) a long list of appellatives: he is Prince of the Presence, Prince of the Law, Prince of wisdom, Prince of kings, etc. (cf. the titles applied to Michael in Hyvernat's bowl), while elsewhere (Eisenmenger, *ibid.*) he is called the Prince of the world, cf. the title "the great prince" discussed above in connection with Michael.[18] We may

[12a] Most of these names are plays on evident roots.

[13] For references and literature on the planetary angels see Lueken, *op. cit.,* 56; add Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum,* ii, 383 ff.; Bousset, *Religion des Judentums,* 315 ff.

[14] See Weber, *Jüdische Theologie,* § 37, and for origins of the idea cf. Bousset, *op. cit.,* 348.

[15] For the extremes to which this notion went, see Lueken, *op. cit.,* 36 ff.

[16] Both ideas are associated in Philo's mind; see Lueken, § 7, on the λόγος ἀρχάγγελος of Philo.

[17] For later legends see Eisenmenger, ii, 394 ff and the interesting critical discussion of this later (Gaonic) development of Judaism by Joel, *Der Aberglaube,* ii, 15 ff.

[18] Cf. שליטא בר who stands before "the true God" in the pagan text of No. 19.

suppose that on the periphery of Judaism as well as in its esoteric circles the idea of Metatron would be especially acceptable to those who were not weaned from polytheism.

Comparing Nos. 3, 19, 25, we come upon an interesting identification. ארמסא, which appears in No. 3, is the Greek Hermes, more especially the Hermes of the mystic Egypto-Grecian theosophy (see to No. 3). He is the Word, etc. (No. 19) and in 25 : 4 f., is identified with Metatron.[19] Thus we have here a welding together of the esoteric Jewish Metatron and the equally mystical Hermes of Hellenism. Whether our magicians were aware what ארמסא meant, I know not and I doubt it. It gave them one more mystical name and combination.

Just as Hermes was dragged in, so other names or words were put in the category of angels or intermediate beings. So in 7 : 8 the invocation is in the name of Gabriel, Michael, Rafael, Asiel, Hermes, Abbahu, Abraxas,[20] And so with many terms in these invocations it is impossible to decide what we are dealing with (e. g. Agrabis, 17 : 4), whether a surrogate for a divine name, an intermediate being, a pagan deity, or perhaps a sorcerer's name. The expression "in the name of" was taken seriously only so far as the name was concerned; the name, the word, was the essential thing, not the prosaic object it stood for. The same phenomenon appears in the magical papyri. There we find now an exorcism in the name of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus Christ (*χρηστος*) and Holy Spirit (*αγιος πνευμα, sic*)[21]—wherein the exorcist shows bad orthodoxy, whether as Jew or Christian; or again an incantation in the name of *ιαω θεου σαβαωθ θεου αδωναι θεου μιχαηλ θεου σουριηλ θεου γαβριηλ θεου ραφαηλ θεου αβρασαξ, κ. τ. λ.*,[22] where gods, angels and formulas are mixed up just as unintelligently as in the incantations from Nippur.

As for the minor angels most of them can be found in other Jewish literature, and reference for them may be made to Schwab's dictionary of angelology. Glossary A lists the angelic names in the bowls. In their

[19] So Michael was identified with Hermes, Lueken, *op. cit.*, 28, 78 (with reference to Hermes-figures bearing Michael's name).

[20] For some of the angel names in the papyri, see Lueken, *op. cit.*, 71.

[21] Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften*, xxxvi, 2, 75, l. 1227.

[22] *Ibid.*, 144, l. 144. See above § 11.

formation they follow the general rule of making the first (verbal) element express the object desired in the incantation. Thus in the love-charms Nos. 13 and 28, the angels invoked are Raḥmiel, Ḥabbiel and Ḥanniniel.

(3) It is difficult to say how many of the bowls are Jewish; the presence of Jewish catchwords is not a sufficient criterion. I would call attention to a few of the Nippur bowls which are definitely pagan. Of such nature is the last one cited, No. 28, where along with the angel Raḥmiel appear the mighty (passionate?) Dlibat (a Semitic Venus) and [blank] gods. No. 19 has the longest list of invocations of apparently heathen deities. Only a few of them can be certainly identified. Hermes appears there, probably two words (masc. and fem.) representing the Gnostic Aeons (איבול, איבולית); Bagdana, "with 70 exalted priests," who appears as a demon (Abugdana) in the Mandaic bowls.[23] Other names have a very non-Semitic sound, and we can identify some Greek divinities: Zeus, Okeanos, Protogenos (see the commentary). Also we find angelic names, Aḳzariel, etc., and again Abraxas, and reference to the 60 gods and 80 goddesses. Yet the opening invocation is "in thy name Lord of Salvation," etc., who is also the "true God," l. 17.

Of peculiar interest is No. 36, in which the exorcist declares he has been empowered by certain deities: "The lord Šameš (sun) has charged me, Sina (moon) has sent me, Bel has commanded me, Nannai has said to me [blank], and Nirig (Nergal) has given me power." In quite antique wise the sorcerer (perhaps a priest, בומרא) professes to have received oracles. Apart from the striking parallels of the prophetic commissions in the Old Testament, we find the expression of like assumption by the exorcists in the Babylonian magic. Thus from the *Utukku*-series: "The sorcerer-priest that makes clear the ordinances of Eridu am I; of Marduk sage magician, eldest son of Ea, herald am I, the exorciser of Eridu, most cunning in magic am I";[24] again: "The man of Ea am I, the messenger of Marduk am I, my spell is the spell of Ea, my incantation the incantation

[23] Pognon B, p. 93, Lidz., 4: 2 (p. 103, n. 7); cf. the change of the beneficent Mandaic genius Abatur into an evil spirit in Ellis 1.

[24] Thompson, *Devils*, i, 133.

of Marduk."[25] Cf. also the *Maḳlu*-series: "The god and goddess have commissioned me, whom shall I send?," and, "I go on Marduk's command."[26] In our text we have doubtless one of the latest survivals of priestly exorcism in the old forms coming down from the *âšipu* priests of Babylonia; these forms doubtless were cherished long in the Harranian religion.

[25] *Ibid.*, 23.

[26] Tablet ii, ll. 52, 158. Cf. also § 9, end.

IV. HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS

§ 14. Age of the Bowls

Very diverse views as to the antiquity of the bowls have been offered by students. It is unnecessary to consider the hypothesis of their pre-Christian origin.[1] Chwolson as an epigraphical expert submitted the texts he was acquainted with to a careful examination and believed he could assign them, by comparison of the scripts, to different centuries early in this era, from the second to the fourth or fifth. But epigraphical evidence in the case of a formed script like that of the square character is fallacious. Especially in the case of rude popular texts, in which antique forms of writing have survived, no certainty from epigraphy can be obtained. And in general a chronology obtained from epigraphy is most dubious; I may refer to the current opposing arguments over the Siloam inscription and the Gezer calendar tablet, or note the remarkably fluent, almost cursive script of the potsherds from Samaria, which only their certain *provenance* compels us to ascribe to the Omride age.

But most of the students would be inclined to place the bowls considerably later, between the fifth and ninth centuries, although rather by conjecture, from the impression made by the contents, than through positive proofs. Levy and Halévy thought, but fallaciously, that they could detect Arabisms, and were inclined to date the texts after the Arabic conquest.[2] Nöldeke would place Hyvernat's bowl not earlier than the eighth century, basing his opinion on the forms of the Persian names.[3] Schwab assigned his Louvre bowls to the fourth or fifth century.[4]

[1] See above, § 5.

[2] Levy, *ZDMG*, ix, 474; Halévy, *Comptes rendus*, 1877, 292, specifying more exactly, "vers le 9ième siècle."

[3] *Zeits. f. Keilschriftforsch.*, ii, 295.

[4] *Rev. d'ass. et d'arch.*, ii, 136.

It is evident that, in the case of a large number of texts coming from different localities and in most cases not observed *in situ,* it is impossible to take a datum from any one and so fix the chronology of the whole species. Magical literary forms are peculiarly persistent; we may think of the uncertainty as to the age of the Greek magical texts, in which, for instance, a Christian theological phrase may not define the age of the magical formula, can only give a clue to that of the particular document. And so our texts, copied and recopied as precious magical prescriptions, repeated possibly by laymen long after the special school of sorcery had ceased to exist, may have extended over a series of centuries. Some bowls may be considerably later than others, e. g. Hyvernat's with its reference to "Ispandas-Dewa the Jinn of Solomon," and Schwab's H and O composed of biblical verses.

Fortunately more certainty as to a unity of time can be had for the texts from Nippur. These were found by expert scholars *in situ* at certain noted levels of the ruins. While written in three different dialects and as many scripts, nevertheless the appearance of the same persons and families in the three classes tends to show that they all belonged to about the same age. We are not therefore to suppose a stratification of Judaic, Syriac, Mandaic layers, representing so many different ages or even distinct racial elements. Nor do the variants within the texts of the square script compel us to assign them to different ages; these are but calligraphic variations. There is every reason to place the Nippur bowls within rather a brief period, and if one or a few texts threw any light upon the chronology, we could place the age of the whole collection.

The provenance of the bowls from Nippur was described in § 1; they lay above the stratum of the Parthian temple. This building had been destroyed, was covered with sand, and upon the Tell settled small Semitic communities, Jews and Mandaeans, drawn to the deserted place probably by motives of religious community life. Indeed we may suppose that these bodies, separated from the main currents of their larger societies, made a practical use and profit out of their religious prestige in the preparation of magical texts. To speak more exactly of the archaeological conditions, in the "Jewish" houses discovered by Peters an upper stratum contained Cufic coins of the seventh century, a lower stratum only Parthian coins, Jewish bowls being found also in the latter. The lowest

dating then is the seventh century, on the basis of the Cufic coins, and this dating is to be pushed back, if it be modified at all, because of the ease with which small coins slip down through the soil. The archaeological evidence then for the *terminus ad quem* of our texts is the seventh century (probably its beginning), with a fair leeway back into the preceding century.

As I have said, the epigraphical evidence is a weak reed to lean on for chronology.[5] The only new fact I can bring to bear on this feature of the discussion is the novel Syriac script exhibited in seven of our bowls. I have discussed this script in § 6 and there came to the conclusion that it is an early type of the Edessene style of alphabet, a result corroborated by its identity with the Manichaean alphabet. But again this may be a case of survival; certain evidence from epigraphy is *nil*.

There remains the philological testimony. The "Jewish" Aramaic of the texts is just such as we find in the Talmud, and with evidently like dialectical variations; a few forms appear representing the "Palestinian" dialect, remains of which occur in the Babylonian literature. The Mandaic dialect is fully formed, and has exercised its influence, at least in spelling, upon the other two, the Rabbinic and Syriac. There are many words which can be illustrated only from the neo-Syriac dialects, or from the compilations of the Syriac lexicographers. But these words may be old and only by chance have failed to make their appearance in literature. Thus the late Syriac form ʿnṯʾ "goat," is now found in the Elephantine papyri. The fact that a Persian word, e. g. *dastabira,* does not appear till later or is a *hapax legomenon,* is not proof of late age unless it can be shown to be of late Persian formation. Nor do I find that any of the proper names compel us to assume a late date. The majority of them are Persian, and do not, to one who is a layman in this branch of science and who must rely mostly upon the authority of Justi's *Namenbuch,* appear to be necessarily late, say toward the end of the first millennium.[6]

[5] It is impossible to make an epigraphical examination of all the bowls published, for in the majority of cases facsimiles are not given, or they are poorly made.

[6] Nöldeke's argument that the element *-duch* for *-ducht* speaks for a late age is not at all stringent for a Semitic dialect which would naturally abhor a termination in a double consonant; the Syriac texts have *-ducht.*

There is one line of negative evidence which is the only clue to a terminus *ad quem* which I can discover on this basis. Despite the variety of names, the list of which includes two Syriac Christian names (סעבריא ליעשו, בת סהדא) and a Greek name (טימאתאיוס), also probable Indian names, there is none of Arabic origin. A pair of common nouns and the use of פ for the conjunction in two cases do give us etymological connections in that direction; but פ in this usage is found in the Senjirli inscriptions and the Elephantine papyri and is a spelling *ad aurem*—it is corrected in one of Schwab's texts. As for the two words גינא, Jinn, and שיק (and possibly שלניתא), I cannot grant that these loans must have taken place after the Mohammedan conquest, when sorcery was so eager to include every possible name of evil spirits (n. b. the adoption of *διάβολοι*) and inasmuch as the good Semitic word may long have been at home on the Arabian frontiers of Babylonia.

My consequent conclusion is that the Nippur texts should be placed in a period not later than the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, that is, only as a terminus *ad quem*, approximately 600 A. D. The abandonment of the Tell of Nippur may have been caused by the Arabic conquest, which, as we may assume, ultimately drove away the Jewish and Mandaean settlers to other abodes, the latter to their recesses in the south (they were not, I think, recognized as one of "the peoples of a book"), the former to the towns. As for those texts from other quarters that appear to be later, they are but the continuation, which we should expect, of the magic of the elder bowls, and as I have noticed in § 2, towards the end, late descendants of the species.

If my conclusions from the data of the Nippur bowls are justified, they afford us one result of comparative value. While the great mass of magical, and more particularly Jewish magical literature, is known to us only in late documents,—we may but speculate as to the age of the *Sword of Moses*, the *Wisdom of the Chaldaeans*, the *Seal of Solomon*, the elements of *Sefer Raziel*—our texts are contemporary and authentic documents of the late pre-Islamic period in Babylonian history.

§ 15. Origins and Relations of the Bowl Magic

"Jewish incantation bowls" is the title that has been generally applied to our species of magical texts. It arose in consequence of the fact that the first bowls interpreted, as also the majority of those now known, are written in the script and dialectic forms of the speech of the Talmud, and withal appear preponderantly to bear the earmarks of Judaism.[1] The subsequent discovery of similar supplies of texts Mandaic in composition and contents, and now the presentation in this volume of a number of Syriac texts, enlarge our vista concerning the diffusion of this special form of magic among the races and faiths of Babylonia. Further, over against texts of whose Judaism there may be no reasonable doubt, we find a number which are out and out pagan, while the majority are certainly eclectic in their theological tastes. These observations require that we extend our study beyond the domain of Judaism to discover the relations of these bowl-texts to the general field of magic, as we know it for the first centuries of the Christian era, and to the earlier strains which entered into it. What are the historical connections of our texts, and what light do they cast upon the religious or spiritistic thought of cosmopolitan Babylonia in the age of the Sassanian empire?[2]

In the magic-wild age at the beginning of our era, the Jewish magic was recognized as one of the three great schools of sorcery, along with the Chaldaean and the Egyptian. The Jews had inherited the rites and notions of primitive magic from the Arabian Hebrews and from ancient Canaan; despite the severity of an ethical monotheism, which throughout

[1] Hence our rude and vulgar texts are of philological importance as almost the only early contemporary documents of these dialects.

[2] The analogies have been set forth in the preceding sections; in the following paragraphs I can only speculate on the genealogical relations. Cf. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 261, n. 2.

its growth had placed a unique ban upon the practice of sorcery, this feature nevertheless survived. While the Second Isaiah is deriding the sorceries of Babylon and exposing their helplessness (c. 47), we have stray glimpses of the persistence of ancient rites closely akin to magic, which still claimed the adherence of renegades (*Eze.* 8; *Is.* 65, 66). In the Book of Tobit are given magical remedies for the expulsion of foul demons with the concurrence of angels; Josephus tells of his sorcerer who could pull the demon out of the nose of the possessed with a root indicated by Solomon.[3] The New Testament gives the first extensive and intimate picture of the magical conditions in Palestine; "If I through the finger of God cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out?"—inquires Jesus. In *Acts* we read of well-established sorcerers who bewitched the people and even Gentiles in foreign parts, a Simon Magus and Bar-Jesus Elymas. But apart from the hoary forms of Mezuzoth and Tephillin and some mortuary charms,[4] our first literary specimens of Jewish or Judaizing magic are found in the Greek papyri of the Christian age, and there how much is Greek and how much Jewish we know not. Here appear various forms and anagrams of the Ineffable Name, quotations from the Scriptures, historical references to Solomon and especially to Moses,[5] who came, as the great mystagogue and magician, to be identified with Hermes-Thoth, and was regarded as the teacher of Orpheus.[6] He is made the author of a Hermetic book, through and through Egyptian and Hellenistic, entitled the Eighth Book of Moses, as a continuation of the Pentateuch, which Dieterich has published at the end of his *Abraxas.* Blau and Deissmann have published a delicate erotic charm, composed in true Greek spirit, and yet the former may be right in claiming its phraseology as preponderantly Jewish.[7] In which direction was the give and take, what were the connecting links? Dieterich would find in the Essenes and Therapeutae the bond between

[3] *A.J.*, viii, 2, 5. For a survey of Jewish magic and a large bibliography, see Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, § 32, vii (ed. 3, iii, 294).

[4] See H. Vincent, "Amulette judéo-araméenne," *Rev. bibl.*, 1908, 382. (with ample bibliography), and Montgomery, *JAOS*, 1911, 272.

[5] See the analogies presented in § 11.

[6] Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 70.

[7] See notes to No. 28.

Jewish and Hellenic magic.[8] But just wherein lay the peculiar type and particular contribution of Judaism to the world's magical faith, we do not know, for the reason that we have no early magical documents of unimpeachable Jewish origin. And if we possessed documents from the Palestinian life of the Hebrews, how far even then could we decide what was specifically Hebrew and not Canaanitish or borrowed from the spheres of culture to the east and west? What different origins are assigned by the commentators to the occult practices described in Eze. 8.[9]

When we pass to the eastern home of the Diaspora we have that marvellous encyclopaedia, the Talmud, with its glimpses into the common life of the people as well as into the discussions of the schools; magic holds its sway more or less over all, and its existence, if not its legality, is confessed by the spiritual masters, who, if we may contrast successively Mishna, Gemara, the Gaonic period, with one another, came more and more to recognize and legitimatize the practice of magic.[10] We catch in the Talmud and the subsequent authoritative literature some of the magical phrases, learn something of the practices and beliefs in demons, mark the superstitious fears of the people of Babylonia, of the Jews as well as of their neighbors.[11] Our bowls and their inscriptions are rude and unlovely, with none of the sombre dignity of the Babylonian incantations, or of the often lyric beauty of the Greek magical literature;[12] but these bowls are of prime interest as giving us for the first time extensive texts of the eclectic Babylonian magic of the first Christian millennium. They are degenerate successors of the elder incantations of the land, yet they are autograph evidence of the superstitions which Talmud, with caution, and Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum,* with malice, reveal, and are precursors of that sea of magical literature which has come down to us under Jewish auspices.

[8] *Ib.,* 137 ff.

[9] See Kraetzschmar, *ad loc.*

[10] See Joel, *Der Aberglaube,* the sections C, D, E (pt. 1, pp. 55, 64; pt. 2, p. 2) for this comparison. For the Talmudic teachers who allowed and practised magic, see Blau, *Das altjüd. Zauberwesen,* 26, 54.

[11] According to Blau, pp. 23, 84, the Babylonian Jews were far more addicted to magic than the Palestinians.

[12] Cf. the noble Hermetic hymn of creation, the "holy word" in the Eighth Book of Moses, in which "God smiled seven times," and each smile was an act of creation; Dieterich, p. 182.

And withal they give a sample of the medley and fusion of peoples and religions in the land which the Jews had long since called Confusion.

The order of the day is to Babylonize, and our evident line of primary investigation is to discover the relationships of the bowls with the ancient Babylonian magic, the literature of which in the last decades has been published in large quantities by the most distinguished Assyriologists.[13] My notes to the texts and the Introduction show how apparently numerous are the connections between the object of our study and the magic of Babylonia. While there is only one instance of the specific bowl praxis in that earlier literature,[14] still its method of defixion is quite congruous with the ancient magical operations. As of yore, the sorcerer appears as the commissioner of Deity or of the gods (§ 9); he follows definite and repetitious formulas, similar to the Babylonian *šiptu* (§ 11). He invokes most frequently, or at least primarily, one chief god, "the Lord of love and healing," just as the Babylonian called on Ea or Marduk, but, as in the elder incantations, other gods or their angelic equivalents are invoked in large accumulation (§ 13). Most striking in the correspondences is the registration of the devils, black arts and maladies to be exorcised; as in the Babylonian, so in our magic these are specified in long detailed lists (§ 12). In fact our spells far outdo the Babylonian repetition of the seven classes of evil spirits. In the Mandaic texts the terror of the witches appears, in others the evil charm is reversed upon the head of the sorcerer, all as in Babylonian magic. Rites and words and the instruments of magic, which are personified, are as much the object of detestation as in the *Maḳlu*-series. Diseases and all human ills are inspired by devils, indeed are devils and are treated as personal essences. The magician's ban, the spell of the mighty god, is laid upon them all, and they are forthwith assumed to be "bound," and "tied," as in older days when simulacra sacramentally sealed the operation. Even the quotation of Scriptures and references to sacred legend have their parallels in the Babylonian incantations, which used the ancient myths as potent charms (§ 11). It is unnecessary to proceed further with the summary of general correspondences, but enough has

[13] See for the literature, Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, ch. xvi, and his *Religious Beliefs in Bab. and Ass.*, 296 ff.

[14] See p. 43.

been noticed to dispose our minds to the dictum of Zimmern:[15] "Diese (the incantation bowls) im Ausdruck oft überraschend an die alten babylonischen Beschwörungen erinnernden jüdischen Beschwörungstexte, bei denen unter den mit Namen angeführten bösen Dämonen auch Lilith häufig erscheint, liefern in ihrer Weise ebenfalls den Beweis für nachhaltige Einströmen babylonischer dämonologischer Vorstellungen in das Judentum."[16]

Yet the implications that may be drawn from this judgment, even if not intended by the writer, are open to criticism. In the first place, as observed in the preceding sections, similar correspondences with the Greek magic are to be noted in almost every instance. This fact compels us to recognize the possibility of eclectic as well as of immediate Babylonian influence upon the Jewish magic. And then, secondly, marked differences exist between the fields, changes in the center of gravity, omissions, accretions. There still remains a large degree of substantial reason in the opinion earlier expressed by Nöldeke, surveying the material from a different point of view: "Die Verbindung mit altbabylonischen Aberglauben dürfte also ziemlich lose sein."[17] The study of magic is still in its beginnings, and students are too prone to find a genetic relation when we have to bear in mind that we are dealing with parallel workings of the human spirit operating in a universal and amazingly uniform field, while at the same time, particularly for the age when Hellenistic culture was dominant, we must give allowance for the interfusion of factors geographically most distant.

Of the old Babylonian names of demons, only two appear in our texts, the *šedu* and Lilith (with its male counterpart), but these, if originally Babylonian, in ancient times had pervaded the Semitic world. The *utukki limnuti* are the רוחין בישתא, "evil spirits," but these have their biblical precedent.[18] The Babylonian vocabulary has been suppressed by genuine Semitic words. The extensive praxis of the Babylonian has also almost disappeared; the inversion of the bowl, some rudely scrawled designs, and

[15] *KAT*[3], 463.

[16] The actual adoption by the Jews of Babylonian magical rites is portrayed in *Eze.* 13: 17 f.

[17] *Z. f. Keilschriftforsch.*, ii, 297.

[18] The שלניתא may be Babylonian, see to 8: 2.

one or two magical prescriptions[19] are all that remain in our texts of the elder practice. The use of the bowl in a love-charm has its parallel only in the Hellenistic κατάδεσμος or *defixio,* likewise buried in the earth. The sorcerer invokes the names of ancient masters (as in the Greek magic again), he no longer is professionally independent like the *âšipu* priest; even laymen borrow and lay the spells. The mere "word" or "name" has replaced the practice; in the Babylonian magic the gods were prayed to for their assistance, and we often question whether we are dealing with magic or religion; here their or the angels' names are simply used, and these are sufficient to invoke their potency, without appeal to the heart or mind of a living deity. The use of a word like Abraxas illustrates the extreme consequence; if a deity can become a name, so a word can become a deity—*numen nomen!* The formula "in the name of" can be used before letters and phrases as well as before divine names. At first sight this name-magic appears more spiritual; it actually proves to be more absurdly mechanical, because it invokes a binding of the gods and heavenly powers by a cheap and easy formula without any of the "service" of the gods, with litany and priest, which the elder rites prescribed.

There is thus a change in the spirit of the magic. The old Babylonian was religious in his incantations; it is only in the so-called medical texts that we find the passage from the religious sphere to that of entirely mechanical operation, which may issue either in empirical science or in absolute magic. The sense of sin lay heavy upon the Babylonian devotee, he needed to dress in sackcloth and wallow in ashes, while the incantation required rites of purification and confession of sins in pathetic and ethical litanies.[20] But any such religious element is entirely wanting in our texts, apart from the stereotyped introductory formula, "Lord of healing, Lord of love" and two obscure, probably traditional references to sin and guilt.[20a] We have in a word a purely magical system, that is, one whose efficacy consists in doing or rather saying certain things without a prayer or lustration or confession.

[19] See Nos. 12, 13.

[20] Cf. the "confessional" in the second tablet of the *Šurpu*-series.

[20a] See p. 86.

It may be further noticed that in the use of the Jewish Scriptures, which is very scanty, the passages of real religious import are not employed (§ 11). This is especially true of the Nippur texts, and often all that we have reminiscent of the Bible or of religion are the stereotyped Amens and Halleluias, common property of the magic of the age. Along with this unreligiousness of the magic goes a certain impression of impersonality throughout; there is a general lack of reference even to personal sorcerers; attention is paid to the operation of witchcraft, regarded itself as a potentiality, and the mechanical danger is met by mechanical means.

In these differentia from the old Babylonian magic we find much that is apparently or evidently Jewish, and again some factors that are not so categorically explained. We may think that the comparative absence of magic rite is due to Jewish influence, as also the large use of name-sorcery. The cultless condition of the Jews since A. D. 70 and the long previous term of six centuries in which the official cult was confined to one sanctuary, must have incapacitated the Jew for the rites of the magician. He dared not make simulacra, many practices were out of question because of their evidently heathen associations ("the ways of the Amorite"). But he had a holy book made up of sacred words, and a god unlike any of the pagans, who might not be seen, who once had spoken (*Dt.* 5), and who in lieu of images and many sanctuaries was revealed in his Names.[21] And so holy words and names became the province of the Jewish sorcery. His religion, when it passed out of the naturalistic or the ethical sphere, found its outlet in logology, in Rabbinism with its logomachies, in magic and kabbalism with their manipulation of words and letters. Even the angels, which were imported as a kind of humanizing mythology into Jewish monotheism, came to be but plays on roots, invocations of the attributes or activities of deity, so that finally angel was merely synonymous with charm.[22]

In these particulars the Jews may have contributed to the later Mesopotamian magic, as well as to that of the Hellenistic world. In our bowls we find Jewish families as the clients, and in the Nippur collection there is a frequent reference to the venerable Jewish master, Joshua b. Perahia, as a revealer of heaven's mysteries; but as he appears also in the

[21] Kabbalism appears as early as the present text of *Ex.* 3, 14.

[22] See § 12, n. 112.

Syriac bowls, which are probably of pagan origin, he may have already become a common traditional figure like Moses in the papyri. Nippur had been since the Exile a center of the Jews,[23] and in Talmudic times it lay just east of the famous Rabbinic school at Sura, between which and Pumbaditha to the north of Babylon the spiritual life of Babylonian Judaism circulated.[24] But Nippur does not appear to have remained a Jewish seat of importance. It is mentioned but once in the Talmud,[25] and the settlement which the Pennsylvania expedition unearthed on the top of its ruins was, at least so far as the bowls testify, a mixed folk, among whom the identical magic flourished under Jewish, Mandaic, pagan forms. This interchange of magical property precludes us from specifically speaking of many texts as certainly Jewish, even while we recognize numerous Jewish elements. It is interesting to observe that the Mandaic texts are truer to the theology of the sect than many of the so-called Jewish bowls. The Jewish magic here in Nippur, as elsewhere, was eclectic. The religion of the Jew cannot admit that it itself is eclectic, and the self-consciousness of the intelligent orthodoxy in rejecting or at least minimizing magic as part of the Jewish system, approves itself when we study our specimens of magic; their science is as much cosmopolitan as native.

I pass now to another clue for the origins of the bowl-magic. I have discussed under No. 3 the frequent references to the genius Armasa, who is identified with Metatron and called the Word, and is none else than the Hermes of the Hermetic theosophy. No. 28 is a magical philtre for a lovesick wife, the terms of which find their closest correspondence in Greek charms; No. 19 names a number of deities, among whose obscure names we can identify Zeus and Okeanos, and perhaps the names of the Aeon-pair. There are other clues of connection with the Greek magic, discussed in the Introduction and the texts; I may refer especially to the

[23] For the river Chebar hard by Nippur, the Kabar of tablets found by the Pennsylvania Expedition, see *BE*, ix, plate 84, l. 2. For the names of the numerous Jewish settlers there see Clay's Murashu texts and his summary in *Light on the Old Testament*, 404, also S. Daiches, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra and Nehemiah according to Babylonian Inscriptions* (Publication no. 2 of the Jews' College, London).

[24] See S. Funk, *Die Juden in Babylonien*, Berlin, 1902, ii, 153 (with no reference to Nippur).

[25] *Yoma* 10b, identified with the biblical Calneh

identical pharaseology in the choice of a certain day out of a month and a year as auspicious for working the charm.[26] Such terms as Abraxas direct our thought to the great western world and the imposing magical fabric of Hellenism.[27] And this system directs us to Egypt.

I have spoken of the permutations made on the Sacred Name as typically Jewish. And yet there was another people which equally cultivated the mystery of ineffable names, a people older than the worshippers of Yahwe, the Egyptians.[28] The Jewish development in this regard was hardly independent of Egypt. However this may be, we find in the Greek magical texts the fusion of the two theosophies, the Jewish Ineffable Name, with all its vowel permutations, and like sacred titles, Sebaoth, Adonai, etc., mixed pell-mell with those of Egyptian origin. And further the accumulation of barbarous syllables, such as appear in our texts, has no known tradition behind it hailing from the Jewish and Babylonian theologies; it must be traced back to the Egyptian magical science.[29] This phenomenon

[26] See p. 55.

[27] The recent rapid development of the study of magic and the increased application to the magical papyri have aroused in various quarters the question concerning the nature of the Jewish magic and its relations to that of the Hellenistic world. This investigation appears to have been first broached in a critical way by Blau (pp. 37 ff., 96 ff.), followed by several writers whose works have been constantly cited in the above pages: Dieterich, Deissmann, Conybeare (who considers the *Testament of Solomon* to be of Jewish origin), Gaster (in introduction to his *Sword of Moses*), Reitzenstein, Heitmüller, Wendland. Our specimens of magic hail from the eastern confines of that world, even from beyond its political borders, and are speaking proofs of the eclectic and cosmopolitan character of Hellenistic magic.

[28] Budge, *Egyptian Magic,* ch. v; Erman, *Egyptian Religion* (1907), 154. For the influence of Egypt in the Hellenistic magic, see the excursus in Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 218.

[29] In addition to the observations in § 11, see Budge, *l. c.;* Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (1897), 268, quoting Synesius's words: the Egyptian "mumbled a few unintelligible syllables"; also his *Magie u. Zauberei im alt. Ägypten* (1905), 32. The Greek papyri are faithful repeaters of this Egyptian art.—Stübe, remarking on the kabbalistic use of letters (p. 54), thinks that here we have traces of the passage from the Talmud to the beginnings of the development of the Kabbala. But as of Egyptian origin or kinship, the use is not to be dated by the Kabbala. It existed on the periphery of Judaism long before it was taken up by the Jewish doctors. Indeed Chwolson (*CIH,* col. 115) denies any special relation of these texts to Talmudic ideas (against Lenormant, *Essai,* i, 212, who held that our magic was a product of the Babylonian academies). Wohlstein was the first to observe the eclectic character of our magic, *ZA,* viii, 316 f. In matter of fact hardly a trace of technical Kabbalism is to be found in them.

is continued and flourishes with abandonment in the Greek papyri, and there again this form of magical spell falls in with the Jewish currents.

This Egypto-Hellenistic magic is one of the prime sources of our texts, and the impression made upon me in my study is that they resemble much more this form of magic than that of ancient Babylonia. The beginnings of this invasion of western sorcery into Mesopotamia may have begun with Alexander's armies; there can be little doubt but that pervasive Hellenism soon domesticated its magic, as everything else Greek, wherever it settled. It doubtless was reinforced in its development on Babylonian soil by the Hellenistic Jewish magic that had grown into luxuriant life on the theosophic soil of Egypt and thence sent forth its waves of spiritual energy to all the homes of the dispersed race.

It is difficult in the field of magic to decide which is cause and which effect, for the spirit of magic produces like fruits spontaneously everywhere. Our bowl sorcery is connected doubtless by many lineal bonds with ancient Babylonia, but it shows as unmistakable links with the Hellenistic magic, to which the Jews contributed, and from which they received still more. The problem of these texts is the same that confronts us in speculation over the Greek magical papyri. Who wrote these? Egyptian, Jew, Greek, Christian, Gnostic, all contributed each one his magical names, mysterious formulas, bits of sacred history, each outbidding the other in the effort to attain the same ends and arriving at an indistinguishable limbo of monotonous sameness. The texts were written for all who would use them, and those who received their magical traditions adapted them to the changing fancies of age and clime.

Our texts exhibit a like eclecticism. Babylonian, Jewish, Mandaic, Gnostic, Hellenistic, and indirectly Egyptian, elements are there, in various combinations. The Jew contributed a certain quality of monotheism and made it palatable by his angelology; his Divine Name, his Scriptures and apocrypha and liturgy, were storehouses of magical lore. All this was fused with like elements from parallel sources, and the product was useful to any body of magicians, even as it was in demand on the part of every class of clients, pagans, Persians, Jews, Christians, every kind of sect. And what is true of our texts is true of all the Jewish magical literature.

The bowls then are not so much illustrative of a special Jewish magic as of the eclectic religious conditions of later Mesopotamia; here the ancient magic, divorced from its content of real religion, came to be reinforced by new currents of superstition from the West. Whatever be the relation of magic and religion, whether they are twin sisters, or the one the parent of the other, or innate rivals, in our special and confined field we may observe the break-down of the ancient noble religions; gods have become names, rites esoteric and selfish and malignant, holy writings formulas. It is not Judaism we have been studying but a phase of *fin de siècle* superstition.

In recent years so much has been made of Persian origins for western religion, philosophy, and magic,[30] that I am surprised to find hardly a trace even in a word[31] of the Zoroastrian system upon our bowl-magic. This is the more remarkable as it belongs to Persian soil and flourished under the Sassanian empire, while the dualism, demonology and magical practice of Persia would have been so natural a nursing mother to the superstition we have been studying. Had the Zoroastrian influence spent itself and, after it had given itself to the world, did the more virile currents of the original stock and of the West reassert themselves and triumph in Iran's territory? Or has the influence of Persia been overrated?

As to the comparative age, in point of literary tradition, of the three classes, "Jewish," Syriac, Mandaic, it is impossible to decide; all follow common types. In the case of the Mandaic replica to No. 11, the former has the secondary text. The Mandaic charms are closest in spirit to the old Babylonian magical literature, those in the Syriac appear to be expressive of the current paganism (e. g. No. 36).

[30] See Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism,* esp. nn. 37-39, p. 266 f.; Bousset, *Die Ursprünge der Gnosis,* etc.

[31] N. B. the Ispandas-dewa in Hyvernat's text, and פריכא, possibly the Persian Peri. The arguments for Persian influences advanced by Levy, *ZDMG,* ix, 471 f., are now antiquated by the Babylonian literature. The fashion of interminable lists of demons may come from Persia.

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, NOTES

CBS = Catalogue of Babylonian Section University of Pennsylvania.

Numerals in () number the lines of the spiral inscription, starting from the radius where the text begins.

Brackets, [], indicate suppletion of lacunae.

Phrases in () in the translation represent amplification or interpretation by the translator.

Inferior points attached to Hebrew characters indicate doubtful readings.

Points on the line indicate missing letters or words.

Superior points, in the Syriac texts, represent the diacritical marks of the original.

No. 1 (CBS 8693)

הדין קמיעה דאפרה (2) בר ש[ברדוך] דתיהוי ביה (3) אסותא לה[דין א]פרה בר שברדוך ועים (4) ולהדא בה[מנדוך] בת סמא דתיהי להון (5) אסותא להדין א[פרה] בר שברדוך ולהדא בהמנדוך בת (6) סמא אמין א[מ]ין סלה הדין קמיעה דליליתא דבת ביתלהון (7) להדין אפרה בר שברדוך ולהדא בהמנודך בת סמא (8) אשבעית עליכין כל מיני ליליתא בש[ום] זרעיתכין דילדין שידי (9) וליליתא לבני נורא סטין וי מרדין ועברין על גזירתא דמריהון וי מן זיקא (10) פרח פרחין וי מחבלין וי באתרשמכי מסאב המסין וי רמסין וצלפין ומפגמין (11) ומפגרין ש ומשגשין איצין ובלמין ומשגרין כמין וי . . פוכתא ובתריכון

Exterior

(12) ובתרכון דחלין ומדחלין יסירין למומתי ומידמין לבני אינשא לגברי בדמות נשי (13) ולנשי בדמות גברי ועים בני אינשא שכבין בליליה וביממא בטום (14) שעש גש גשך כתבית עליכי ליליתא בישתא דכלשום דאיתליכי אנחנא (15) כתבנא ושמיה יסיך אפרה אל עולם ועד

TRANSLATION

This the amulet of Ephrâ (2) bar Šabôrdûch, wherein shall be (3) salvation for this Ephrâ b. Š. and also (4) for this Bahmandûch bath Samâ, that there be for them (5) salvation, namely for this Ephrâ b. Š. and for this Bahmandûch b. Š. (6) Amen, Amen, Selah.

This is an amulet against the Liliths that haunt the house of (7) this Ephrâ b. Š. and this Bahmandûch b. Š. (8) I adjure you, all

species of Liliths in respect to your posterity, which is begotten by Demons (9) and Liliths to the children of light who go astray: Woe, who rebel and transgress against the proscription of their Lord; woe, from the blast (10) fast-flying; woe, destroying; woe, oppressing with your foul wounds, who do violence and trample and scourge and mutilate (11) and break and confuse and hobble and dissolve (the body) like water; woe, ...; and where you stand, (12) and where you stand (*sic*) fearful and affrighted are ye, bound to my ban,—who appear to mankind, to men in the likeness of women (13) and to women in the likeness of men, and with mankind they lie by night and by day.

With the formula, ṬWM (14) Š'Š GŠ GŠK, have I written against thee, evil Lilith, whatsoever name be thine. We (15) have written. And his name shall save thee, Ephrâ, forever and ever.

Commentary

A phylactery in the name of a man and wife for protection against the liliths and their broods which haunt the home. The same couple are the subjects of the charm in No. 13, in which the woman invokes the love of her husband and the blessing of children. For the general magical details I refer in this and the following texts to the Introduction.

1. אפרה: in No. 13 written with both ה- and א-. The name may be Jewish or Persian, (1) hypocoristic from אפרים, or (2) a hypocoristic reduction from one of the numerous names in *Fra-;* see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch,* 101 ff.; for the prothetic vowel, cf. *ibid.* 6. The Persian name of the mother by no means determines the race of the family.

שברדוך = "Sapor's-daughter" not instanced in Justi; *duch* for *ducht;* see above, p. 104, n. 6.

2. תהוי = תיהי, l. 4; both forms in the Rabbinic.

3. ועים ו : unless a scribal error, a unique adverbial development of the preposition, "and withal," = *simul ac,* or ὁμοῦ καί, e. g. Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 147.

4. בהמנדוך: see Justi, p. 374 f.; also in Pognon B.

סמא: in No. 13 also סמאי. A frequent Jewish name; see Heilpren, סדר הדורות (*Seder ha-Doroth*), ed. Maskileison, Warsaw, 1883, ii, 296 f. The two forms are hypocoristic; see Nöldeke, art. "Names," *Enc. Bib.*

§ 50 f., Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* ii, 7 ff., 13 ff. (For the early form and history of these terminations, cf. the results of Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names,* 7 ff.). The full name was סמיא, "blind," occurring in Jewish and Syriac. It occurs as a feminine name (as here) in Asseman's Catalogue, cited by Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus,* col. 2655.

6. לילית : pl., also לילאתא . The liliths are the only named objects of exorcism, but masc. ppls., etc. are found in l. 10 ff., probably by technical phraseology.

דבת : √ דבא ; cf. *Pesaḥ.* 111b: דבי פרחי רוחי : "those which haunt caperberries are spirits.

ביתלהון: the pronominal suffix expressed with the intrusion of ל; cf. in the Assouan papyri of Sayce and Cowley, ברלי וברלי (F, 9).

8. בי[ום] : if a correct restoration, the charm would obviate the demoniac procreation described.

9. "Sons of light": נורא is primarily fire and the term would indicate the angels, expressive of the legend that the angels emanate like sparks (cf. בני רשף , *Job* 5: 7) from the *dînûr,* the stream of fire under God's throne, *Ḥag.* 14a, and other reff. in Eisenmenger, ii, 371 ff. Cf. "the hosts of fire in the sphere," 8: 13. In 16: 7 the demons are "sons of darkness." But as the reference is to demoniac unions with human flesh, the expression appears to be transferred to mankind. It is then parallel to "sons of light," a name given in the Mandaic religion to the Uthras, Brandt, *Mand. Rel.,* 30, and also to men predestined to life, Brandt, *Mand. Schr.,* 13, 19. The redeemed come to share in the light-nature of the angels, cf. *Dan.* 12: 3, *Enoch* 38-39, cf. the *vioὶ φωτός* of the NT. In the myth of Adam Kadmon, man was originally a being of light (Bousset, *Hauptprobleme d. Gnosis,* 202, etc.; for the Kabbala, Karppe, *Zohar,* 372 ff.). Hence we must suppose that נורא has been reduced from נוהרא "light" (cf. the Arabic), and the expression is to be correspondingly rendered. The predicates following recall the myth of Gen. 6.

מריהון, as in Syriac, but the י is only the šewâ; cf. l. 11.

10. וי מן זיקא פרח פרחין: An interesting parallel to a well-known Talmudic formula against witches, *Pesaḥ.* 110a-b: קרח קרחייכי פרח פרחייכי איבדור תבלונייכי פרחא זיקא למוריקא חדתא, generally translated: "Your head be balder, your crumbs [with which you conjure—cf. the anecdote

of Abaye in *Ḥull.* 105b, Joel, *Der Aberglaube,* i, 69] be blown away, your spices fly off, the wind carry away the fresh saffron."[1] I doubt if so much sense can be made out of the doggerel; following the Talmudic tradition our phrase would mean "your breadcrumbs away with the gust!" By itself the words could simply mean, "be blown away with a gust," with reduplication of the verb. For קרח in the Talmudic passage, see to 18: 9.

The combination in the middle of the line is obscure; a verbal middle noun from רשם? The participles מחבלין וגו׳ portray the fiendish assaults of the demons; the same accumulations in Lidzbarski's Mandaic bowls. Cf. the action of the demon of epilepsy in *Mk.* 9: 14 ff.

11. For the ש see above p. 61.

משנריהן כמין: for the relaxing effects of disease cf. *Ps.* 22: 15, *Eze.* 7: 17.

בתריכון ובתרכון, a dittograph induced by the scribe turning over the bowl to write on the exterior and repeating the word. The ׳ in the first form represents the šewâ. The meaning is: stay banned where you are!

12. יסירין: metaplastic form of root אסר, found in the Targums, etc. (cf. Heb. מוסר).

מידמין: cf. *Ḳidduš.* 81a, אידמי ליה סטן באיתתא. The climax of the description is the worst and most obscene of the plagues; the same phrase in Pogn. B, no. 27.

13. בטום: in Ellis 1: 8 טטם appears in conjunction with the Tetragrammaton.

14. ליכי, עליכי: the form is singular, and the phrase refers to the many names of a lilith (see §§ 11, 12 and No. 42).

With לילית it is difficult to determine whether the singular or plural is meant. For "lilith of whatsoever name," cf. 14: 6: demons whose names are mentioned and who are not mentioned. The same indefinite invocation in the Babylonian, e. g. *Utukki*-series (Thompson *Evil Spirits of Babylonia,* i, 153): spirits "that have no name," presenting a *blanket* formula for names not known; cf. *δαιμόνιον καὶ μὴ ὀνομαζόμενον*, Pradel, *Griech. u. südital. Gebete,* 22, l. 2.

15. אל, a Hebrew reminiscence; in general cf. *Ps.* 20: 2 f.

[1] See Blau, *Zauberwesen,* 77. The connection of this Talmudic passage with *Eze.* 13: 17 ff. has not been observed by the commentators.

No. 2 (CBS 2945)

תוב אזלנא אנה פאבק בר כופיתאי בחילי דנפשי בקומתי נציצא דפרזלא קרקפתי דפרזלא קומת דנורא (2) [דכיא] ולבישנא לבושא דארמסא דביא וממללא וחילינא במן דברא שמיא וארעה אזלית ופגעית בהון (3) בסני בישי ובעילדבבי מרירי אמרת להון דאת מידעם חטיתון ביה באבונא בר גריבתא ובאיבא בר זויתאי אישפנא לכון באישפא (4) דימא ואישפא דליויתן תנינא דאם מידעם חתחטתו חטיתון ביה באבונה בר גריבתא ובאיתתיה ובבניה בי קשתא גיבנא לכון (5) ובי יתרא פשיטנא לכון תוב מידעם בביתיה דפאבק ובקינינה ובכל אינשי ביתיה בידידי אנה אבונה בר גריבתא או באיבא בר זויתאי (6) מחיתנא עליכון שמתא וגזירתא ואחרמתא דאיתנח על חירמון טורא ועל ליויתן תנינא ועל סדום ועל עמורא מיטול למכבש דיוי (7) אזלנא אנה אבונא בר גריבתא וכל רזי בישי ולישן חומרי זידניתא אזלית ופגעית בהון בשידי ובדיוי במבכלתא בישתא ביפתכרי וביסתרתא ניקבתא קימין סידרי סדרין ורפדי מרפדין

Translation

Again I come, I Pâbak bar Kûfithâi, in my own might, on my person polished armor of iron, my head of iron, my figure of pure fire. (2) I am clad with 'the garment of Armasa (Hermes), Dabya and the Word, and my strength is in him who created heaven and earth. I have come and I have smitten (3) the evil Fiends and the malignant Adversaries. I have said to them that if at all you sin against Abûnâ bar Gerîbtâ and against Ibbâ bar Zâwîthâi, I will lay a spell upon you, the spell (4) of the Sea and the spell of the monster Leviathan. (I say) that if at all you sin against Abûnâ b. G., and against his wife and his sons, I will bend the bow against you (5) and stretch the bow-string at you.

Again, whereinsoever you sin against the house of Pâbak and against his property and all the people of his house, in my own right I Abûnâ bar Geribtâ—or against Ibbâ bar Zâwîthâi—(6) will bring down upon you the curse and the proscription and the ban which fell upon Mount Hermon and upon the monster Leviathan and upon Sodom and upon Gomorrha. In order to subdue Devils (7) do I come, I Abûnâ b. G., and all evil Sacra-

ments and the tongue of impious Charm-spirits; I have come and smitten the Demons and Devils and evil Tormentors, the Gods (Idol-spirits) and female Goddesses—standing in serried rows and encamped in camps.

Commentary

A mutual charm of two sorcerers, each invoking his powers in turn in the other's behalf. An almost exact replica of the terms of the charm is found in the first part of No. 27. The two men named appear in No. 3, where Pabak's household is the subject of exorcism.

1. תוב: apparently a formal term of introduction; cf. 26: 3. It generally connects the several members of an incantation series. Cf. the "and" introducing the mortuary charm published by me in *JAOS*, 1911, 273. It may be correlative to תוב in l. 5.

פאבק: the Persian Pâpak, Justi, p. 241; cf. Arabic Bâbek, Greek *παμβεκος*. The name occurs in late Babylonian, Hilprecht and Clay, *BE*, ix, 68.

כופיתאי: Syriac כופיתא is a water-flask with a small mouth. For the character of the name, cf. Hebrew בקבוק, *Χούζας*, *Lu.* 8: 39 = כוזא "wine-pitcher," etc. For the hypocoristic termination in אי—, see to 1: 4. It is parallel in meaning and form to בקבקיה, *Neh.* 11: 17.

נציצא = נציצתא, 27: 3. Comparing the Rabbinic נִין, "a shining spark," and "white earth, gypsum," and גהין, "polish." I understand this word in the sense of "polished armor."

כלה קומתי דנורא = קומת דנורא, 27: 4; the parallel marks the gradual obscuration of magical formulas. Fire is the potent element against witches and demons, as the ancient means for destroying their arts. In Babylonia the fire-god Gibil was the chief god of exorcism in such magic, Tallquist, p. 25 ff.; for other examples in Semitic magic, see Thompson, *Semitic Magic* in Index. Iron, like the other metals, and excelling them, is a potent means against devils, Blau, p. 159; Thompson, in Index; in the *Testament of Solomon* is an anecdote of a devil afraid of iron (*JQR*, xi, 18); Josephus' exorcist used an iron ring. For the western world, see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*, i, 50.

2. דכיא I supply from the parallel inscription. After it appear traces of ול, which letters are repeated to make the following word; a fault in the bowl required the rewriting of the characters.

לבישנא לבושא דארמסא: the garment of a potent being carried with it his powers. Compare the assertion by the magician in the charm noted to l. 1, in which he professes to be clad with the magical paraphernalia of Moses, Aaron, David, Solomon, etc., and see above, § 9. There is also to be recalled the magical garment of Marduk in the fourth of the Seven Tablets of Creation, while the magical robe which renders the wearer invisible is common property of folklore.

ארמסא דביא וממללא. ארמסא is found in the parallel bowl No. 27 (along with the rest of this phrase); in 19: 7; in 25: 4 מסא מיטטרון[אר]; in 11: 7 in the spelling ארמים; and in 7: 8, אירמים = Myhrman, l. 4, הירמים. The forms give the clue; ארמים is one of the Syriac spellings for the Greek Ἑρμῆς, e. g. Peshitto to *Acts* 14: 12; הרמים also occurs in Syriac. ארמסא is then the Hermes about whom gathered the extensive mystical cults and literature towards the beginning of the Christian era to which is given the epithet Hermetic. Summary reference may be made here to Reitzenstein's illuminating study *Poimandres* (Leipzig, 1904), also to G. R. S. Mead, *Thrice Holy Hermas,* London and Benares, 1906. The Greek Hermes, the messenger of the gods, was identified with the Egyptian Thot, the divine agent of human illumination—in a word the Logos of the Egyptian religion. This mystical function of Hermes-Thot is evidenced, e. g., by a passage in Justin Martyr: *εἰ γεγενῆσθαι ἐκ θεοῦ λέγομεν Λόγον θεοῦ, κοῖνον τοῦτο ἔστω ὑμῖν τοῖς τὸν Ἑρμῆν λόγον τὸν παρὰ θεοῦ ἀγγελτικὸν λέγουσιν* (*Apol.* i, 22; Migne, *Patrol. gr.,* vi, 57.).

This figure was also adopted in the syncretistic mysticism of the farther East, as the expressions cited from our bowls show. He is the word ממללא (= מלילא, 19: 7),[1] and the Metatron, that mysterious intermediate agency between God and his creation in Jewish Gnosticism (cf. § 13). But this Hermetic theology was not mediated to the Orient through Judaism, but through the Hermetic schools, which appear to have held out, into the twelfth century, in that obstinate center of paganism, Harran. Chwolson has collected the evidence for the survival in that region of the Greek religious philosophies,[2] and Reitzenstein has now trenchantly pointed

[1] The Ἑρμῆς λόγιος or λόγιον: Reitzenstein, *op. cit.,* 43; Abt, *Apologie des Apuleius,* 118.

[2] In his *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus,* 1856. See now Dozy and de Goeje,

out (p. 166 ff.) the essential Hermetic quality of this last remnant of the old pagan philosophy. The magic of the Euphrates valley has caught up probably from Harran the figure of Hermes and easily identified it with the Jewish Metratron, the biblical Enoch, etc.[3] Hermes was the equivalent of the Babylonian Nebo, and a passage in the Mandaic Ginza throws light upon the expression, "clad with the clothing of Armasa"; in the Ginza we have a tradition that the angels invested Nebo with a dress of fire.[4]

The ממללא of our text is then a proper epithet of ארמסא. What is meant by the preceding epithet דביא? It occurs in the parallel text, and also in Stübe's text, l. 5, thus: מיטטרון מלאכה דביה. I suggest that דביה (דביא) means "who-is-in-Yah," an ancient mystical expression for the Logos; cf. the Johannine *πρὸς τὸν θεόν*, and the description of the Son as "in the bosom of his Father," and, "I am in the Father and the Father in me." Compare also 7: 8, יהו ביהו, and note.

3. מרירי (cf. 4: 4), reminiscent of the biblical קטב מ׳, for which see Joel, i, 100.

אבונא: a name of two Amoras.

גריבתא: "scabby"; cf. Gareb, 2 *Sa.* 23: 38, and the Palmyrene גריבא, de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale,* no. 141; also the Arabic Juraib, Jarbâ.

איבא: the same name in *Seder ha-Doroth,* ii, 45. The form is shortened from *Abba,* see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris,* ii, 8.

זויתאי: so the probable reading of the name here and below. It is hypocoristic from זויתא, "corner"; cf. the biblical name Ribḳa = Aram. רבקא, "stall." Is there here a pious allusion to the daughters of Israel as polished corners (זויות) of the temple, *Ps.* 144: 12?

אשיפנא: the verb is found in the Aramaic only in the Syriac, and but rarely, and in the bowls occurs only here.

Nouveaux documents pour l'étude de la religion des Harraniens, in the *Actes* of the 6th International Congress of Orientalists, II, 1, 281.

[3] Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron.,* ed. Kirsch, p. 5, where Hermes and Enoch are identified "by Greek books"; also a reference in Reitzenstein, p. 172, n. 3, to a Hermetic MS. bearing the name of Idris = Enoch. For this Enoch-theosophy see Joel, *Aberglaube,* ii, 16, 19.

[4] *Ginza,* R, p. 54, ed. Petermann; see Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften,* 89.

אישפא דימא וג׳: the spell on the sea and Leviathan was mightiest in magical history, for it was the first great act of "white magic"; cf. the Marduk legend. A survival of this mystical aspect of creation appears in *Job* 38: 8-11, which concludes: "And He said: thus far shalt thou come and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed"; cf. *Jer.* 5: 22, *Ps.* 104: 6 ff., *Job* 38: 8 ff. The subjection of the abyss is a frequent magical allusion in the papyri, e. g. the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris, l. 3062 ff. (Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 140; Blau, p. 113; Deissmann, *Light,* 258). The sealing of Tehôm is referred to in Targ. Jon. *Ex.* 28: 30.

4. חתחטתו: the scribe began to write the perfect, passed into the imperfect (which we should expect here) with the second letter and returned to the perfect termination; he amended his mistake by rewriting the word. In general the scribes aimed at carefulness. A word so corrected is sometimes deleted with a line.

איתתיה: for the various forms, see Glossary, *s. v.* אינתתא.

בבניה: a Mandaic and also Targumic idiom for בנוהי, Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 144.

בי קשתא וג׳: בי a form of ב- found in Targums and Talmud (also in the Palestinian charm cited to l. 1). The terms are reminiscent of Marduk's slaying of Tiamat in the Babylonian creation legend: "Marduk made ready bows The bow and the quiver he hung at his side"; cf. the praise of Marduk's bow in the fifth tablet (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation,* ii, 63, 83, and fragment cited, p. 207); also numerous biblical parallels: *Hab.* 3: 9, cf. v. 11; *Ps.* 7: 12-14; *Dt.* 32: 41 (where Gressmann, *Isr.-jüd. Eschatologie,* 78, would read אשפה for משפט). As in l. 1 with the clothing of Deity, so here with his magical arms the magician declares himself invested. But the phraseology may be based on magical practice, a symbolical shooting at simulacra, in the same way as these are burnt, peeled off, mutilated, etc. A very similar passage is to be found in one of the Manichaean texts discovered in Chinese Turkestan, in which the conjurer shoots with his bow and arrow at the demon, who falls dead; *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1908, 401.

ניבנא: participial form from נבב; the Peal is unique.

5. תוב: the other part of the mutual charm now begins. The contrast is further expressed by בידידי, "on my part."

או באיבא: this name was omitted in its proper place and is now inserted.

6. אחרמתא: for the prosthetic א see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 24.

על חירמון: a reminiscence of the myth of the confederation of the fallen angels upon Hermon (n. b. √ חרם); see *Enoch* 6: 5 f.: "they named the mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by curses upon it"; also 14: 7 ff. Philo of Byblus also connects the Titans with the Lebanons and other mountains of Syria: "These begat sons of greatest size and superiority, whose names were given to the mountains which they occupied, so that some of them are called Kassion and Libanos and Antilibanos and Brathu."[5] And Hilary of Poitiers adds something to our knowledge of the myth: "Hermon is a mountain in Phoenicia, the interpretation of whose name is *anathema.* Moreover it is the tradition—from whose book it comes I know not,—that the angels lusting after the daughters of men, when they descended from heaven, assembled on this very high mountain."[6] Cf. the anointing of Nebo by the evil gods in the Mandaic mythology, Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, 126 f.

7. סידרי סדרין: construct of accumulation.

רפדי מרפדי: "camping in camps." רפד is very rare in Hebrew and Aramaic, but is frequent in Assyrian, where among several meanings it is found in this sense (cf. the biblical place-name רפידים). מרפד occurs in a MS. cited by Rabbinowicz to *Megilla* 10b: בית מרפידו של אדוני, where מ' = Hebrew שכינה.[7] The variant in 27: 11, מרפדי מרפדי, parallel to סידרי ס', is probably the correct form. The allusion to the serried battalions of the demons is epical, perhaps of mythological origin.

[5] Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* i, 10: 7; text in C. Müller, *Fragm, hist. graec,* iii, 566.

[6] Hilary to Ps. 132: 3, see *Corpus script. eccles, latin.*, xxii, 689.

[7] So on Jastrow's authority, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud,* etc., 1476, but I do not find the reference.

No. 3 (CBS 2963)

בשמך מרי אסואתא אסיא רבא דרחמי מזמן הדין איסרא ורוא וחתמא שרירא לחתמתא
דביתיה דהדין (2) ארדוי בר הורמיזדוך דיוה ויתרחק מיניה דיוא בישא וסטנא בישא
דמיתקרי צפעסק אבדה גברא דקטיל (3) גברא מילות איתתיה ואיתתא מילות בעלה
ובנין ויבנן מין אבוהון ומין אימיהון ביממא ובליליא אומו אומו מתאלך ואשבועי
(4) משבענא עלך דלא תיקטול ית הדין ארדוי בר הורמיזדוך מילות אחת איתתיה
דלא תיקטול ית אחת בת פרכוי מילות ארדוי בעלה (5) ולא תיקטול ית בניהון וית
בנתהון בין דאית להון ובין דלָהֵון להון מין יומא דנן ולעולם לא בליליא ולא ביממא
בישמיה דזעזעוע הסר הסר פעספעספע תמר תמר (6) תמר נקט זהזהזה הסר פעם
חמר קק אסתו יופת יופתיה מין אישתא יקידתא סקסין סין סין סקיון סק שמו קץ שמו
. הדין הוא שמא רבא דמלאך מותא דח[י]ל מיניה (7) וכד שמע יתיה דחיל
יעריק ומיתבלע מין קדמוהי ומן קדאמיה דהדין ארדוי בר הורמיזדוך ידחול ויעיר[יק]
מין אחת איתתיה בת פרכוי ומן כל בניהון ומין (8) כל בנתהון דאית להון ודהון להון
פוטשש אמן בשום סקסן סקסין קק אסתו יופת יופתיה מין אישתא יקידתא סקיון
. [הדין הוא] שמא רבא דמלאך מותא דחיל מיניה וכד (9) שמע יתיה דחיל
יעריק ומיתבלע מין קדמוהי ומין קדמיה .דהדין ביתא אף השתא ביה בהדין שמא
רבא דדחיל מ[יניה] [מין קדם ארדוי בר הורמיז]דוך ומין קדם אחת איתתיה
בת פרכוי (10) ומין קדם בנין ויבנן דאית להון ודהון להון פוטשש אמן ובשום אסתר
יופת יופתיה מין אישתא יקידתא סקסן סקסין סק [הדין הוא שמא ר]בא
דמלאך מותא דחיל מיניה וכד שמע יתיה (11) דחיל יעריק ומיתבלע מין קדמוהי כין
אף השתא בשום הדין שמא רבא ידחול ויעריק ויפוק דיוא בישא דק (12) אחת
איתתיה בת פרכוי ומין קדם כל בנין ויבנן דאית להון ודהון להון פוטשש שנאמר
ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן יגער יהוה בך הבוחיר בירושלם [הלא זה
אוד מוצל מיאש אמן אמן]

Translation

In thy name, O Lord of salvations, the great Saviour of love.

Designated is this spell and mystery and strong seal for the sealing of the household of this (2) Ardôi bar Hormizdûch, that from him may depart and remove the evil Demon and the evil Satan, who is called SP'SK,

the Mighty Destroyer, who kills (3) a man from the side of his wife and a woman from the side of her husband, and sons and daughters from their father and from their mother,—by day and by night *omo, omo,* walking. (4) I adjure thee that thou do not kill off this Ardôi b. H. from Aḥath his wife, and that thou do not kill off Aḥath bath Parkôi from Ardôi her husband, (5) and that thou do not kill off their sons and their daughters, whether those they have or those they shall have, from this day and forever, neither by night nor by day. In the name of Z'Z'Z', ḤSR, ḤSR, ḤSR, P'SP'SP', TMR, TMR, (6) TMR, NḴṬ, ZHZHZH, ḤSR, P'S, TMR, ḲḲ, 'STW, YWPT, YWPTYH, from the burning fire, SḲSYN, SYN, SYN, SḲYWN; SḲ, his name ḲS his name. This is the great name before which the angel of death is afraid, (7) and when he hears it, frightened he flees and is swallowed up before it and (just so) before this Ardôi b. H. shall he fear and flee [and from] Aḥath his wife, bath P., and from all their sons and from (8) all their daughters, whether those they have or those they shall have. PWṬSS, Amen. In the name of ḲḲ, 'STW, YWPT, YWPTYH, from the burning fire, SḲSN, SḲSYN, SḲYWN, ... [This is] the great name before which the angel of death is afraid and when (9) he hears it, frightened he flees and is swallowed up before it and before this household. Moreover now in this great name of which is afraid [the angel of death, etc.—he shall flee from Ardôi b. H.] and from Aḥath his wife b. P., (10) and from sons and daughters, those they have and those they shall have. PWṬSS, Amen. In the name of 'STW, YWPT, etc. [This is the great name] before which the angel of death is afraid, and when he hears it (11) frightened he flees and is swallowed up; so moreover now on the authority of this great name shall fear and flee and go forth the evil Demon (from Ardôi, etc.). PWṬSS. According as it is said: "And YHWH said to Satan: YHWH rebuke thee, Satan; YHWH rebuke thee, who chooses Jerusalem. [Is not this a brand plucked from the burning? Amen. Amen.]"

COMMENTARY

A charm for a man and his family against a murderous spirit. The charm consists in magical syllables constituting "this great name" and the formula is repeated four times; see p. 65.

1. מרי: construct = Syr. מרא. מרי אסואתא וג׳: a frequent epithet in these bowls of the deity invoked, along with אסיא רבא דרחמי, e. g. 7: 1. Cf. the frequent invocation in Pognon's bowls: אנאת אסיא, אנאת אסיא דמאסיא נישימאתא, etc. The theme אסה is equivalent to σώζω in the New Testament and Latin *salus,* German *Heil,* for which modern English offers no synonym, the good old word "health" having been specialized. The word implies a remedy against evil spirits and black magic. It is also used concretely, of the phylactery, "this א׳", Wohls. 2426: 1.

The epithets here used are interesting as being probably one of the few survivals in these inscriptions of the ancient Babylonian theological terminology; there we have, in the penitential and magical literature innumerable appeals to the love and curative powers of the deities; thus Marduk is god of love and life,[1] Ea is *a-si-e.*[2] And the exact equivalent of אסיא רבא is found as an epithet of Gula, the consort of Ninib: *azugallatu bêltu rabîtu,* "Great Healer, Mighty Mistress"; and of Bau, who became identified with Gula, e. g. *asîtu gallatu.*[4] Ninib was domiciled at Nippur and these epithets of his consort may have been particularly Nippurian, and so have survived in the bowls coming from that locality. I have not been able to discover the parallel masculine epithet for Ninib.[5] This invocation is doubtless pagan, being distinct from the numerous biblical epithets expressive of the love and power of God. It is never associated with the Jewish Divine Name. Σωτήρ is a common epithet of the Greek gods, Zeus, Apollo, Asklepios, Hermes, and is an epithet of the Deity in the N. T., e. g. I *Tim.* 1: 1. Cf. also the Phoenician בעל מרפא, *CIS,* i, no. 379, and *Ex.* 15: 26, אני יהוה רפאך. Also n. b. the common epithets for

[1] *La magie ass.,* Fossey, 323, 365, 369; n. b. his title *rêménû.*

[2] This reference I have not been able to verify.

[3] III R, 41, col. 2: 29; Delitzsch, *Hwb.,* 197a; Schrader, *KB,* iv, 78.

[4] R. C. Thompson, *PSBA,* 1908, 63.

[5] Radau (*BE* xvii, pt. 1, p. ix) endeavors to find the same title for Ninib in his explanation of the Aramaic rendering of NIN-IB, אנושת (see Clay, *JAOS* xxviii, 1907, 135, and Montgomery, *ibid.,* xxix, 204). He interprets it as = *en-usâti,* "lord of help," our very title (cf. Delitzsch, *Beiträge z. Ass.* i, 219, for equivalence of *AZU* with *âsû*), and with the same root. The interpretation would be very agreeable to me in view of the above remarks, but Radau omits to explain the Aramaic rendering of *s* (or *z*) by ש when the Aramaic has the root אסא, while Clay's explanation appears to me the more satisfactory.

the love of God (√ רחם) in the O. T. and Koran, also in the Palmyrene texts.[6] Pradel has collected in his *Griech. u. südital. Gebete,* 42 f., a number of the epithets denoting the healing and merciful character of God; he is there *ἰατρὸς ψυχῶν, ἐλεήμων,* etc.

מזמן וגי: a standing introductory formula in these bowls (with כסא, etc.). זמן, Pael, appears to be used in the sense in which the Peshitto has it as the rendering of the Hebrew הקדיש, "sanctify," e. g. *Josh.* 7: 13, *Jer.* 12: 3. Cf. the religious connotation of the parallel root—יעד.

For חתמתא as a *pa"âl* formation see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* 121. Cf. the Mandaic forms and formula cited by Lidzbarski, *Eph.* i, 96, n. 1: חאתאמתא וזאראזתא ונאטארתא. The "charm, mystery, seal," are identical, and refer to the Great Name of the incantation. For the identity of name and seal, see Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 143, 150, etc.

2. ארדוי: hypocoristicon in *-ôi,* abundant, with variants in *-âi* and *î,* in these texts (see Nöldeke, *Persische Studien,* in *Sitzungsberichte,* phil.-hist. Class, of the Vienna Academy, 1888, p. 387.). The name is formed from one of the numerous Persian names in *ard-* or *art-;* it occurs in Myhrman's text, see his note, p. 349.

הורמיזדוך: a frequent Persian name see Justi, p. 10.

יזח, or יזה = יזע, from זוע or זעע; but as יזח, from זחח (found in Heb., *Ex.* 28: 28, cf. the Aramaic זוח), see the forms יזדחן, 10: 6, יזחן, 12: 10, אתאזחא, Pognon, B. יזה, 31: 3.

"Demon, Satan, Destroyer," all epithets of the one demon; cf. above pp. 58, 68.

צפעסק: with reversal of the alphabetic order of the first four letters—to indicate the *bouleversement* of the demon?

אבדה גברא: *abbâda gabbârâ, abbâd* not otherwise found; for the formation cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 115. Notice that the Hebrew and Greek Abaddon is represented in *Rev.* by *ὁ ἀπολλύων,* as though the original was a noun of agent, not an abstract. The epithet = המלאך המשחית, 2 *Sa.* 24: 16, המשחית, *Ex.* 12: 23, the Samaritan מחבלא, etc.

3. ויבנן: for the vocalization of the conjunction cf. וידלא, 14: 6;

[6] Baethgen, *Beiträge,* 82 f., Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 153.

וילשלהיבת, 14: 7, etc. The conjunction is also similarly pointed in *Targum Onkelos,* Dt. 14: 37 (ed. Berliner), ויחלף; see Berliner's note, ii, 140.

אימיהון: the half-vowel after מ is indicated, as in Mandaic.

אומו אומו מתאלך: thus the uncanny stealthy movements of the demon are expressed.

4. אחת: probably the first element in such a name as אחתדאבוה, "sister of her father," cf. אחדבוי, "brother of his father," a frequent name in the Talmud. Cf. biblical אחאב, and the Babylonian Aḥatbu, Aḥatšuna, Aḥat-immišu, etc. (Tallquist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch,* 3), and similar names in the Glossary.

פרכוי: hypocoristic of Persian Farruchan, Justi, p. 94 ff.

5. דהון = hâwên, cf. מחן, רמן, 6: 4, pl. ppl. with future sense, as common in Syriac.

דנן: appears only in this phrase, so 16: 13, 19: 20, is archaic and seldom in Talmud; for the pronouns see end of Glossary C.

6. "From the burning fire," i. e. of hell. For the threatening of demons with pangs of hellfire, see Pradel, 21, l. 11 ff.; for the threatening of demons in general cf. the Paris Magical Papyrus, l. 1227 ff. (ed. Wessely), and see in general Tambornino, *De ant. daemonismo,* 78.—The angel of death appears in Schw. F. The charm of which he is afraid is *à potiori* more fearful to the demon.

7. יעיריק: for the second י representing the *šewâ,* cf. the Sabbioneta text of *Targum Onkelos,* ed. Berliner, to *Ex.* 21: 13, *Num.* 35: 26. For *u* in ידחול, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* 219. N. B. the two prepositional forms קדאמוהי and קדמיה along side of each other, the latter attributed to the "Palestinian" dialect by Dalman, *Gram. d. jüd.-pal. Aramäisch,* 181.

The Great Name, or True Name, at which devils and all things created tremble and flee away, is a common thesis in the Greek magic: Wessely, xlii,[1] 65, *ad infra*: the God of Israel whom the heavens bless and (the oceans?) fear and every devil trembles; Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 140, l. 55 ff: the name at which trembles the Gehenna of fire and every mountain trembles; Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln,* no. 4, l. 44 (with editor's notes), and no. 5,

[1] "Neue griech. Zauberpapyri" in *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy, phil.-hist. Class, xlii, 2: his earlier publication in vol. xxxvi is cited as "xxxvi."

l. 21. It is not necessarily a Jewish phrase, Wessely, xxxvi, 50, l. 244 ff: "This is the primitive (πρωτενον) name of Typhon at which trembles earth, deep, hell, heaven," etc. Cf. Heitmüller, pp. 148, 231, for citations from the Fathers, and Pradel, p. 40 f., for Greek magic. Dieterich regards this trembling before the Name as of Orphic origin, p. 141.

The bowl CBS 16093 is almost identical in text with this one, and bears the same design. It is about two-thirds as long. Its clients are the couple named in Nos. 32 and 35. Also another bowl (unnumbered) is practically the same as the present text, but shorter, with the same design. also made out for the clients of Nos. 32 and 35.

No. 4 (CBS 2923)

מיטלי דלמיכל מלאכין קדישין וכל ורוחי בישתא ולישן חמרין זידני זידניתא אהשתא כבישיתון אסיריתון אסירין אסיריתון וחתימיתון בחדא מן ארבע (2) זוית ביתיה מיחטא לא תיחטון ביה בפאבק בר כופיתאי ולא נסכלון ביה בכל אינשי ביתיה ולא בליליא ולא (3) ביממא מיטול דאסרנא לכון באיסרא בישא [ובחתמא] שרירא תוב אסרנא לכון באיסורא דאסירי ביה אחנוך אחוי בישי תוב (4) אסרנא לכון באיסורא בישא ומרירא תוב אסרנא [לכון באי]סורא דאתסרו ביה שבעה כוכבין ותרין עשר מלויישין מלויאשין עד יומא רבא (5) דדינא ועד שעתא רבתי דפרקנא דראישיכון לא תי . . . לא תיחטון בהון באבונא בר גריבתא ואכסלי לא נסכלון בהון בכל אינשי ביתיה דפאבק (6) בר כופיתאי לא בליליא ולא ביממא מיטול דחתומ[י מחת]ם ביתיה וזרוזי מזרז ושורא רבא דנחשא אחדרית ליה אנה דבעית נקטית ודשאילית נסבת (7) אתון בתריה דאבונא בר גריבתא ובתריה דפאבק בר כופיתאי

Translation

Covers to hold in sacred Angels and all evil Spirits and the tongue of impious Amulet-spirits. Now you are conquered, you are charmed; charmed, you are charmed and sealed in each one of the four (2) corners of his house. You shall not sin against Pâbak bar Kûfîthâi, nor shall any do folly against him, against all the people of his house, either by night nor (3) by day; because I have bound you with an evil charm and a sure [seal]. Again, I have charmed you with the charm with which Enoch was charmed by his wicked brothers. Again I charm you with an evil and galling seal. Again, (4) I charm you with the seal with which were charmed the Seven Stars and the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac unto the great day (5) of judgment, and to the great hour of the redemption of your heads: you shall not ..., nor sin against them, against Abûnâ bar Gerîbtâ, and none shall at all do folly against them, namely the people of the household of Pâbak (6) b. K., neither by night nor by day, because well sealed is his house and well armed, and with a great wall of

bronze have I surrounded it. *I,* what I desire I grasp, and what I ask I take. (7) *You* are in the place of Abûnâ b. G. and in the place of Pâbak b. K.

Commentary

A general charm against all evil spirits, made out for the Pâbak of No. 3. The introductory lines are of interest as they definitely settle the use of these bowls (§ 8). The design represents the sorcerer waving his bough, see p. 55.

1. מיטלי דלמיכל : מי is to be identified with the plural of the Syriac *meṭallethâ, metallê,* or *maṭṭelê;*[1] the י probably represents the pronunciation *mcṭṭelê.* The second word מיכל is the infinitive of כול, "contain," whose original meaning is retained in the Hebrew, even in the sense of holding in with force, e. g. *Jer.* 6: 11, over against the later meaning of "measure."

מלאכין קדישין : See p. 79; also cf. חומריא קאדישאתא, *Ginza,* ed. Petermann, p. 231, l. 10, and the Mandaic רוחא דקודשא.

ורוחי : the first letter was written by inadvertence.

זידני זידניתא : case of dittography.

אהשתא : for the prosthetic א, cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 32.

3. דאסירי ביה וני : we find here the idiom of the active use of the passive participle, as in Neo-Syriac; see Nöldeke, *Gram. d. neusyrischen Sprache,* §§ 103, 143. An approximate use of this participle in verbs meaning "to carry," etc., and also with אסר is found in classical Syriac (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 280). But in these instances the participle is middle voice in meaning; thus אסיר כלילא means, "he bound himself with a crown." In the present case the participle has assumed a completely active sense, with an object other than the subject.

אחנוך : this spelling is found in a passage from the lexicon of Karmsedinoi, quoted by Payne-Smith, col. 266, *s. v.* אנטיכריסטוס.

אחוי : "his brother" and "his brothers" have the same spelling, differing as *-ûhi* and *ôhi;* the forms in *-ûi, ôi* are Mandaic, and also Palestinian.

There is reminiscence here of a cycle of personal legends concerning Enoch which have been preserved only in the Arabic, see Weil, *Biblische*

[1] See Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 59.

Legenden der Musselmänner, p. 62, a compilation from manuscript sources.[2] According to these legends Enoch (Idrîs), who foretold the flood, suffered at the hands of the wicked Cainites, even as Abraham was made a martyr for his faith. Our passage must refer to some spell laid upon Enoch by his adversaries. The early Samaritan theologian Marḳa (fourth century) cites a book of the Wars of Enoch, which may have contained these traditions.[3] A spell laid by the wicked on a saint was *à fortiori* potent; see above, p. 64, for other apocryphal examples. For Enoch in incantations, cf. 19: 17.

מלויאשין: the word is written twice; in the first case the scribe omitted the א, then inserted it above the line, and on second thought rewrote the word correctly. It is the Syriac and Mandaic מאלואסא. The first י is unique; it is to be classed with the phenomena noticed by Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* 223, where, e. g. *-yûn* for *-ûn.*

יומא רבא, שעתא רבתי: cf. "the great day," Hexaplaric Syriac to *Is.* 1: 13, the New Testament "that day and that hour," the Syrian Ephrem's expression, "the hour of judgment" (ed. Lamy, iii, 583), and the Arabic "the hour." For the feminine form רבתי, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* 145.

In lines 4, 5, we are introduced to an extensive and ancient cycle of myths concerning the relation of the Seven Stars (the planets with sun and moon) and the twelve zodiacal signs, with the creator of the kosmos. There were two distinct developments in this mythology; in the polytheistic development the planets became highest deities. But in what we may call the monotheistic trend of thought, in which one of the gods, like Marduk became monarch, or, as in Israel's faith Yahwe is the sole God, stress is laid upon the antithesis between the Creator-God and those celestial divinities. The present regulated orbits of the planets and the fixed positions of the zodiacal constellations signify that these beings, once autonomous, have been brought into subjection to a higher god. In process of time they came to be regarded as "spirits in prison." Thus Tiâmat became, when slain, the fixed firmament (or the zodiac?), while, according to Zimmern, *KAT*, 502, the eleven Helpers of Tiâmat are the twelve signs of the zodiac, *minus* that of the Bull, the sign of Marduk

[2] For the later Jewish Enoch literature see *Jew. Enc.* i, 676.

[3] See Montgomery, *The Samaritans,* 224.

himself. This unfavorable attitude toward the celestial bodies is thus ancient. The monotheistic trend was native to the Hebrew theology, and in line with it we have the passage in *Is.* 24: 21 ff., according to which "the host of the height on high," as well as the kings of the earth are punished, being bound in prison. For the later theology the Book of Enoch is a good witness; e. g. 18: 13 ff.: "I saw there seven stars as great burning mountains. When I inquired about it, the angel said: This is the place where heaven and earth are at end; this is a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. The stars which revolve over the fires are they which at the beginning of their origin transgressed the command of God for they did not come forth at their time. Then he became angry at them, and bound them for 10,000 years, till the time when their sin is accomplished" (cf. 21: 6). The "spirits in prison" of 1 *Pet.* 3: 18 ff. is in line with the same notion, depending directly upon *Is.* 24: 21 ff., and we may compare the invidious use of "planets" in *Jude* 13, in the expression *ἀστέρες πλανῆται.*[4]

But our text also bears witness to another development of the myth. The "binding" of the Seven Stars and the zodiacal signs was for a fixed term. According to the passage quoted from *Enoch,* it was for 10,000 years. In the Isaianic passage, a term is fixed: "after many days shall they be visited."[5] In *Peter* the ancient myth is revived in the notion of Christ preaching to the spirits in prison. It is left somewhat obscure what shall take place when "they shall be visited," or when "their sin is accomplished" (with *Enoch*). Exegetes differ over יפקדו in Isaiah, whether the verb is to be understand favorably (of a visitation for release) or unfavorably (of chastisement). Also the Petrine preaching to the spirits in prison is understood by commentators in equally opposite ways. In our text the term of "the great day" and "the great hour" is evidently to be one of release to the stars bound in prison. There appears to be applied here the idea of a universal Apokatastasis. Now for this notion of the redemption of the imprisoned celestial deities we have a basis in Babylonian

[4] See Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis,* c. i, "Die Sieben." In the Mandaic system the seven planets and twelve signs have become utterly evil. In this line of thought, taken up by magic, there is, I think, an open anthesis to astrological fatalism.

[5] There is literal reference to this passage in No. 34: 6,— בפוקדנא. There is possibility of confusion between פורקנא and פוקדנא.

mythology. In Tablet vii, l. 27 f. of the Epic of Creation (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*), among the titles given to Marduk are: "Who had mercy upon the captive gods; who removed the yoke from upon the gods his enemies." And Pinches has now published a text ("Legend of Merodach," in *PSBA*, 1908, 53 ff.) which is a late supplement to that epic, and apparently continues the theme of the release of the captive gods: "He (Marduk) goes down to the prison, he rises to approach the prison. He opened the gate of the prison, he comforts them. He looked upon them then, all of them; he rejoices. Then the captive gods looked upon him. Kindly the whole of them regarded him." The "day of redemption" of our text is therefore in line with this Babylonian myth, and probably the passages from *Isaiah* and 1 *Peter* are also to be explained in consonance with it. This mythical trace probably descends from the Enoch literature.

5. Abuna is intruded awkwardly.— אסכלי for אסכולי.

6. זרוזי מזרז: the root זרז (מזרז, זריז) is found elsewhere in these bowls, and also in those of Pognon and Lidzbarski (see Glossary C). It is used in parallelism with אסר, etc., in preventive magic. The verb means in the Aramaic dialects "to arm." But Pognon (B, 74) assumes for the noun זאראזתא the meaning "admonition," and Lidzbarski (*Eph.* i, 96, n.) the sense of "binding up" a letter, etc. But there is no necessity in departing from the common meaning; it refers to the magical armament of persons and things with power to resist the forces of evil; so a passage in the *Ginza*: "Arm yourselves with arms not of iron" (ed. Petermann, p. 25, l. 20). That is, it is the magical equipment of a person or charm against evil. Paul may have been making use of well-known magical language when he exhorted the Ephesians to "put on the panoply of God," *Eph.* 6: 13. The following phrase, "a great wall of bronze," is equally parabolic;, bronze possessed atropaic use in magic, like the other metals; cf. 15: 7, and see Pauly-Wissowa, i, 50; a Talmudic instance, *Sabb.*, 66b.

אנה דבעית וגי: our magician displayed the same assurance in No. 2. At least this confidence had its psychological effect on the client.

אתון בתריה: "hoist with their own petard"!

No. 5 (CBS 2952)

[אם]ירי אסירין וחתימי חתימין וקטירי קיטרין ולחישין לחישין בשום תיעדון ותיחתכון ותירחקון מין ביתיה . . יה דפרוך בר פושבי וניונדוך בת פושבי ויתּ אבנדוך בת פושבי ותינזח מינהון (2) כל לילילתא (*sic*) בישתא וכל שידי ודיוי ואסרי ופתכרי ונדרא ולוטתא וקריתא וחרשין בישין ועובדין תקיפין וכל מינדעם סניא אסיריתון בשבעה איסרין וחתימיתון (3) בשבעה חתמין בישמיה דאלדרביה אבי פּוּנן מרי ביזא וקללא אלנדמ. . . [אשב]עית עליכו בשום הסר הגדול שתישמור ית (פרוך בת (elided פרוך בר פושבי ויתּ ניונדוך בת (4) פושבי מן עינא בישתא ומן סטנא תקיפא ומן ומישעירים בישביל דחמד הרבים בשום יהוה אה באה אמן אמן סלה (5) על פי יהוה יחנו על פי יהוה יסעו את משמרת יהוה שמרו על פי יהוה ביד משה ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן יגער יהוה (6) בך הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אודו (*sic*) מוצל מאש אמן אמן סלה

Two lines on either side of figure in center.

(7) אהעה להלה אמן אמן סלה

אמר אשר משה אמן אמן סלה

Translation

Wholly charmed and sealed and bound and enchanted [are ye], that ye go away and be sealed and depart from the house [and property?] of Farrûch bar Pušbî and Nêwândûch bath Pušbî and Abândûch bath Pušbî, and that there depart from them (2) all evil Liliths and all Demons and Devils and Spells and Idol-spirits, and the Vow and the Curse and the Invocation, and evil Arts and mighty Works and everything hostile. Ye are bound with the seven spells and sealed (3) with the seven seals in the name of Eldedabya Abi Ponan, lord of spoil and curse I conjure against you in the name of the great Prince, that thou keep Farrûch b. P. and Nêwândûch b. P. (4) from the Evil Eye and from the mighty Satan, and from ... and from the many Satyrs in the road of Hamad, in the name of Yhwh, 'H, B'H. Amen, Amen, Selah. (5) "According

to the mouth of YHWH they would encamp, and according to the mouth of YHWH they would march; the observance of YHWH they kept according to the mouth of YHWH by Moses." "And YHWH said to Satan: YHWH rebuke thee, Satan, YHWH rebuke (6) thee who chose Jerusalem. Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?" Amen, Amen, Selah.

COMMENTARY

A general incantation against evil spirits for a man and his two sisters. The latter half Hebraizes.

1. The duplication of the ppls. is for intensity, "twice charmed." קיטרין error for קטירין. — לחישין, the only instance of this verb in the bowl-texts.

פרוך: cited by Payne Smith, col. 3246; cf. *Farruchan* and composites in *farruch*, Justi, p. 95 f.— פושבי?

אבנדוך, ניונדוך: Justi, pp. 228, 1.

ויח: by heedlessness of construction; cf. l. 3.

תנזח: נזח (also Talmudic) = זחח, see to 3: 2.

2. אסרי: the place of the term in the list shows that the charms were regarded as personal entities. Cf. above, p. 86.

"Seven spells," etc.; cf. the fever-remedy in *Sabb.* 66b, "7 twigs from 7 trees, 7 nails from 7 bridges," etc., etc. For this magical number in the Talmud, see Blau, pp. 73, 86, who quotes the Jewish maxim כל השביעין חביבין.

3. אלדרביה וגי: obscure, probably name of a genius; אבי may indicate his paternal relation to another well-known genius. For דביה cf. 2: 2.

"The great Prince": the technical title for Michael (see p. 97). It is to be observed that this bowl is peculiarly Jewish in theological form, while the following adjurations are in Hebrew. The double use of אשבעית introduces a mixed construction here. The verb generally is used of exorcism, with על of the object, = ἐξορκίζω. But at the same time he *adjures* the great Prince, whom he addresses in the second person. All these terms denoting magical binding could be used indifferently of the good and evil genii. The angel is adjured in Hebrew, which according to belief was the only tongue the angels knew.

4. "The hobgoblins in the way of Hamad, the many"; cf. the Rodwell-Halévy bowl in which a geographical location is given, "upon the road to Huṣi," and Wohls. 2417, a demon who dwells in Samki. The reference is to the demons which beset some particular road. For the satyrs see p. 80. הרבים in the text is awkward.

5. Literal quotations from *Num.* 9: 23 (cf. 26: 1 f.). The applicability of this quotation lies in its triple use of the efficacious word שמר (as above in l. 3). Hence the magical use of such Psalms as the 121st, 122d, the Aaronic Blessing, etc. Later Kabbalism, found in the theme the abbreviation of שדים מזיקים רוחות, see Schwab, *Notices et Extraits* of the Paris National Library, xxxvi, 1 (1899), 288.

7. There is no evident sense in these words around the figure. אהעה and אשר are reminiscent of the interpretation of the Name, *Ex.* 3: 14; להלה = "avaunt"?, משה = Moses.

No. 6 (CBS 2916)

כיבשא דכבשין להון לשידי ולדיוי ולסטני ולפיתכרי (2) ולרוחי בישתא ולחומרי זידניתא ולגיסי וקיבלי ולילִיתא דיכרי (3) ונוקבתא דלוין עימהון דאדק בר חאתוי ודאחת בת האתוי דלוין עימהון ודשרין (4) בגובתיהון ודדבין על איסכופתהון ומידמן להון בידמו דמו ומחן ורמן וקטלין וכיבשא הדין (5) כבישנא להון ביומי בירחי ובכל שני ויומא הדין מיכולהון יומי וירחא הדין מיכולהון ירחי ושתא הדא (6) מיכולהין שני ועידנא הדין מיכולהון עידני ואזינא וחברנא להון באיסכופת בתיהון דנא דנא וצארנא וחתימנא עליהון צירין פיתחיהון (7) וכל איגרהון וכיבשא הדין כבישנא להון בשום הלין שבע מילין דישמיא וארעה כבישין בהין בשום חדא גישמין ומרביל בשום (8) תינינתא גישמין ומרביל בשום תליתיתא מרביל בשום רביעיתא משבר בשום חמישיתא מורה בשום שתיתא ארדיבל בשום שביעיתא כיבשין דיבהון (9) כביש ע. בהון תיתכבשון כל רוחי בישתא וחומרי זידניתא ולילִיתא דיכרי ונוקבתא וגיסי וקיבלי ומללתא ולא תיתחזון להון לאדק בר האתוי ולאחת בת האתוי (10) ול. לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינתא דיממא ולא תיקרבון לסיטרא דימינהון ולסיטרא דישמלהון ולא תיקטלון בניהון ולא תישילטון בכל קינינהון דאית (11) להון ודהוי להון מן יומא דין ולעולם ומן דעל הדין כיבשא ניבר והלין רזין לא מקביל ניפקא בי אוזא וניצטרי בי בינא וניזם במיזם נחשה ניזיל קליה בגיגלי שמיא (12) וניהוי דיריה בשבע שאול דימה ומן יומא דין ולעלם אמן אמן סלה

Translation

A *press* which is *pressed* down upon Demons and Devils and Satans and impious Amulet-spirits and Familiars and Counter-charms and Liliths male (3) and female, that attach themselves to Adaḳ bar Ḥâthôi and Aḥath bath Ḥâthôi—that attach themselves to them, and dwell (4) in their arch-ways, and lurk by their thresholds, and appear to them in one form and another, and that strike and cast down and kill. And this *press* (5) I *press* down upon them in days and in months and in all years, and this day out of all days, and this month out of all months, and this year (6) out of all years, and this season out of all seasons. And I come and put a spell for them in the thresholds of this their house, and I seal and bind them. Fastened up are their doors (7) and all their roof.

And this *press* I *press* down upon them by means of these seven words, by which heaven and earth are charmed: in the name of the first, *Gišmîn* and *Marbîl;* of the second, *Gišmîn* and *Marbîl;* of the third, *Marbîl;* of the fourth, *Mašbar;* of the fifth, *Môrah;* of the sixth, *Ardibal;* of the seventh *Kibšîn* (presses), with which is *repressed* (9) with them are *repressed* all evil Spirits and impious Amulet spirits and Liliths male and female and Familiars and Counter-charms and Words, that they appear not to Adaḳ b. Ḥ. and to Aḥath b. Ḥ. (10) and to neither in dream by night nor in sleep by day, and that they approach neither their right side nor their left, and that they kill not their children, and that they have no power over their property, what they have (11) and what they shall have, from this day and forever.

And whoever will transgress against this *press* and does not accept these rites, shall split asunder violently and burst in the midst, and the sound of him shall resound with the resonance of brass in the spheres of heaven, (12) and his abode shall be in the seventh (?) hell of the sea, from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

A charm in behalf of a couple (each with a mother of the same name) and their household; the incantation consists in seven magical words, and concludes with a threat against any who destroy the bowl and ignore its ban.

1. כיבשא: cf. מיטלי, 4: 1, and see § 8. Cf. the verb, l. 5. N. B. similar use of כבש in *Pesiḳta R.* 16 (Jastrow, p. 611): the sacrifices are "presses because they press down the sins."

2. גיסי, also 12: 9, in both places before קיבלי. Out of several possibilities of interpretation I suggest that of גי in the sense of "side" (cf. 34: 4), and then one who is familiar (Jastrow, *s. v.*), hence = the πάρεδρος or familiar spirit of the Greek magic; e. g. the ὀνειροπομποί and πάρεδροι in Justin Martyr, *Ap.* i, 18, Eusebius, *H. E.,* iv, 7: 9, occurring also in the magical papyri, Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 161, n. They may be the genii invoked by manipulation or rubbing of the amulet as in the Arabian Nights. In Arabic superstition we learn of the "follower," *tâbiʿu,* that accompanies the bewitched man, Nöldeke, *ZDMG,* xli, 717. And cf. the

Satan who is a "comrade" to an evil man, *Karîn,* in the Koran (e. g. 41: 24), see van Vloten, *WZKM,* vii, 182 ff., גיסא could be the Syriac word for marauding troop, an appropriate description for a demoniac species, but the meaning given above is more appropriate in the context.

3. אדק: cf. the Persian name Adaces, in Ammianus, see Justi, p. 2, and cf. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien,* 417.

חאתוי: cf. the Syriac name *Ḥâthî,* "my sister," cited by Payne Smith, col. 1408, here with the Persian diminutive ending.

גובתיהון: the Syriac גובא, "transverse beam," hence probably door lintel,—so Payne-Smith, col. 670; radically the word refers to the *arch* of the doorway. For the abodes of the demons, see p. 76.

בדמו דמו: the same phrase in the Mandaic, Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 216, 2.

מחן, רמן: cf. *Mk.* 9: 14 ff., *Lu.* 6: 4.

5. For the selection of a special day for the exorcism, see p. 55.

6. אזינא: unique form; אזל is treated in some forms as though אז, and here metaplastically as אזא.

חברנא: the only occurrence in the bowls of this ancient magical term. —The root צור is used here not in its Aramaic sense.

בתיהון = ביתהון, cf. l. 4.

7. אינרהון: cf. *Pesaḥ.* 111b, דבי אינרי, of the demons.

8. These magical words are wholly obscure; see § 11.

10. "Sleep by day": cf. the special term in 7: 16. The midday siesta was perilous, especially for those in the fields; in the Greek superstition this was the chosen time for attacks by the satyrs and fauns, whose place was taken in Jewish legend by the קטב מרירי a demon representing sun-stroke, etc. See Grünbaum, *ZDMG,* xxxi, 251 f., and Roscher, *Ephialtes.*

Magical protection at right and left hand is frequently referred to in Babylonian sorcery; e. g. the *Utukki*-series iii, 93 (Thompson, i, 11); or four deities surround the sorcerer, in front and back, at right and left, *ibid.,* iii, 142; the *Maḳlu*-series, vi, l. 123 f. Cf. 13: 7.

תישילטון: for the new vowel see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 25.

11. The penalty for infraction of the charm is bombastic enough! For the threatening of demons, see above, on 3: 6.

ניבר, ניפקא: Mandaizing spelling for נעבר, נפקע; also אוא = עוא. A dialectic formula may be used here. N. B. נ of the preformative, ניום from Syr. זמם, and גיגלי is Syriac over against the Rabbinic and Mandaic forms.

12. "In the seventh hell" (with awkward use of the numeral) in contrast to the seventh heaven. For the seven hells, see Eisenmenger, ii, 302, 328 f.

No. 7 (CBS 16007)

This bowl is a replica to that published by Dr. Myhrman of Upssala (No. 16081), see above p. 20. The latter is more perfect than my text, in fact almost the only perfect one in the collection; for this reason and also for the value of comparing the numerous variants I give the two texts in parallel, making such emendations as appear necessary in the first-published text, which amount chiefly to the proper grammatical distinction of *yod* and *waw* and *he* and *ḥeth*. It may be observed that the designs in the two bowls differ: in 16007 merely a circle enclosing a cross, in 16081, a linear figure, the stem surmounted by a head capped, at the other end a pitchfork-like termination (the forked tail of the demon?), while four rays represent the limbs. On either side of the figure are three characters like the Greek Σ, or looked at from the side like ש, with which we may compare the ש's shuffled into Pognon's texts, see p. 60. For convenience of reference I give the same line-numbering to Myhrman's text as to my own.

In the commentary I make such few notes as are necessary on Dr. Myhrman's ably edited text.

16081 (Myhrman)	16007
בישמך מרי חתמתא	בישמך מרי אסותא
(2) אסיה רבה דרחמי צארנא	(2) אסיא רבא דרחמי צארנא
לכון וחתמנא (3) לכון	לך וחתימנא (3) ומחתימנא לך
	נפשיה ביתיה וקינינה דהדין
גיי (4) בר אספנז ומשכוי אתתה	יזידאד (4) בר איזדנדוך
בת סימוי וארדוי ברה וכל בני	
ובנתא דהון להון וביתיהון כולה	
בישמיה דאלהא רבה ובחתמא רבה	בישמיה דאלהא רבא ובחתמא רבא
דשדי (5) ובציצי דצבאות	דשדא אל (5) וְבציצי דצבאות ובזיוא
	רבא דקדוש
דיזעון ויזדזעון ויפקון כל שידי	דיזיעון ויזדעזעון ויפקון כל שידי צ...
(6) ודיוי וירורי ורוחי בישאתא וחומרי	(6) וכל סטנין תקיפין
זידניתא וכל שדין וכל דיוין	

מן כולה הדין ביתא ומן כל בני אינשא
דשרן בה
(7) תוב צארנא לכון ומחתימנא לכון

גיי (8) בר אספנז ומשכוי אתתה וארדוי
ברה וביתא הדין כולה ובית מישכבה
בשום גבריאל ומיכיאל ובשום רפיאל
ועסיאל ובהרמים מריא רבא
בשום יהו ביהו (9) ואבהו רבה
ואברכם רבה מנטרנא דרוחי טבתא
ומחבלנא דרוחי בישתא ומנטרנא לכון
ומנחרנא לכון ומחתימנא לכון

(10) גיי ומשכוי וארדוי אילין וביתא הדין
כולה
דלא יחטון להון
כל שידי (11) וכל דיוי וכל מבכלי וכל

לויליתא ומבכלתא וכל פתכרי ולוטתא
וענקתא וכל סטני קשיי

וכל מזיקין (12) בישין
דמין ידי דילי מהנפיקנא להון

בשום פרנגין בר פרנגין דמין קדמוהי
זעא ימא ומבתרוהי טורין זעיין

ובישמיה (13) דבר משתאיל דגזירתא
גזירא ובר אינש על מטרתיה לא עבר
הא רזא הדין לבטלא יתכון שידי ודיוי
ולויליתא ומבכלתא ולוטתא וענקתא
וקריתא [ופתכ]רי ופתכרתא

מן ביתיה ומן דירתיה ומן כול פנריה
דהדין יזידאד בר א[יזדנדוך]
(7) תוב צארנא לך ואחתימנא ומחתימנא לך
נפשיה ו[ביתי]ה וקינינה ובית מישכביה
ד[יזידאד (8) בר] איזדנדוך

בשום גבריאל ומיכיאל ורפיאל ובשום
עסאל עסיאל מלאכה ואירמים מ[ריא רבא
בשום יהו ביהו] (9) ואבהו רבא
ואברכם רבא מנטרנא דרוחי טבאתא
ו[מחב]לנא דרוחי בישאתה מנטרנא ליכי
נפשיה [ביתיה דירתיה] (10) וקינינה
דהדין
יזידאד בר איזדנדוך ומחתימנא ליכי
נפשה בית[ה ודי]רתה דהדא מירדוך
בת באנאי דלא יחטון בכון
כל ח[רשין בי]שין (11) וכל סרנין אפיקי
וכל
ענקתא וכל קריתא וכל לוטתא וכל
יְצְעֲרי וכל. . . . וכל כורהני קשיי וכל
סטני בישי וכל פת[כרי וכל ח]ומרי
זידנ[יתא] וכל מזיקי (12) תקיפי
דמן תחית ידי דילי מפיקנא להון מן הדין
ביתא
בשום פרנגין בר פרנגין דמן קדמוהי
זע ימא ומן בתרוהי זיעין טורין [ביש]מיה
דהה הה
[וב]ישמיה (13) דבר משתאל דגזירתיה
גזירא ובר אינש על מטרתיה לא עבר
הא רזא הדין לבטלא [י]תכון
רזי חרשי ומי מחראשי וזיפי וכוסי
וקי[ט]רי ונידרי וענקתא ו[קריתא]
ולוטתא (14) ורוחי בישאתא וחומרי
זידניאתה

ואפקא שידי ושידניאתה ולילי ולילאתה
ופגעי וסטני בישי וכל מזיקי בישי
דמידמן [ו]כל מזיקין בישין
בידמות שיקצא ורימסא ובדמות חית[א]
ועופא (15) ובדמות גברא ואיתתא
ובכל דמו ובכל גונין בטילו ופוקו
מן ביתיה ומין דירתיה ומין כוליה
פגריה דהדין יזידאד בר איזדנוך
ומין מירדוך איתתיה בת באנאי
ומין בניהון ומין בנתהון ומין כל
אינשי ביתיהון
(16) דלא תיחבלון בהון כל חבאלא בישא
ולא תישנון יתהון ולא תיפרדון יתהון
ולא תיחטון בהון
ולא תיתחזון להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא
בשחרתא דיממא מן יומא דנן
ולעולם אמן אמן סלה
ועוד מומינא ומשבענא

(14) ופגעי וסטני וכל מזיקין
דמידמן
בידמות שיקצא ורימסא ובידמות חיתא
[וע]ופא (15) ובידמות גברא ואתתה
ובכל דמו ובכל גונין בטילו ופוקו
מן
גיי
ומשכוי
וארדוי אילין
ולא תיחטון בהון
(16) ולא תיחבלון בהון חבלא בישא
ולא תירדון בביתתהון (*sic*)
ולא תיתחזון להון לא בחילמהון דליליה
ולא בשינתהון דיממא מן יומא דין
ולעולם אמן אמן סלה

— — —

(17) עלך יטרידך סרא רבא מפסים גרמך ומעדי שׁוּרבתך ובשבעין גברין דנקיטין שבעין מגלין חריפאתא למִקטל בהון כל שידין בישין ולשיציה בהין כל מבכלין זידנין מסחפין גונדין ורמי על ערסיהון אמן אמן סלה הללויה

Translation

In thy name, O Lord of salvations, (2) the great Saviour of love.

I bind to thee and seal (3) and counterseal to thee, the life, house and property of this Yezîdâd (4) bar Izdândûch; in the name of the great God, and with the seal of Shadda El, (5) and by the splendor of Sebaoth, and by the great glory of the Holy One: that all ... Demons and all mighty Satans remove and betake themselves and go out (6) from the house and from the dwelling and from the whole body of this Yezîdâd b. I.

(7) Again I bind to thee (Myhrman, to you) and seal and counterseal to thee (M. to you) the life and house and property and bedchamber of Yezîdâd (8) b. I., in the name of Gabriel and Michael and Raphael, and in the name of the angel 'Asiel and Ermes (Hermes) the great Lord. [In

the name of Yahu-in-Yahu] (9) and the great Abbahu and the great Abrakas (Abraxas), the guardian of good spirits and destroyer of evil spirits, I guard to thee (M. to you) the life, house, dwelling (10) and property of this Yezîdâd b. I. And I seal to thee (M. to you) the life, house and dwelling of this Merdûch bath Bânâi, that there sin not against you (M. them) all evil Arts (11) and all (magic) Circles and all Necklace-spirits and all Invocations and all Curses and all Losses and all ... and all sore Maladies and all evil Satans and all Idol-spirits and all impious Amulet-spirits and all mighty Tormentors, (12) which under my own hand I banish from this house in the name of Pharnagin bar Pharnagin, before whom trembles the sea and behind whom tremble the mountains, in the name of HH, HH, and in the name of (13) Bar-mešteel, whose proscription is proscribed and none trespasses upon his ward.

Lo, this mystery is for frustrating you, Mysteries, Arts, and enchanted Waters and Hair-spirits, Bowls and Knots and Vows and Necklace-spirits and Invocations and Curses (14) and evil Spirits and impious Amulet-spirits. And now, Demons and Demonesses and Lilis and Liliths and Plagues and evil Satans and all evil Tormentors, which appear—and all evil Injurers—in the likeness of vermin and reptile and in the likeness of beast and bird (15) and in the likeness of man and woman, and in every likeness and in all fashions: Desist and go forth from the house and from the dwelling and from the whole body of this Yezîdâd b. I. and from Merdûch his wife b. B., and from their sons and their daughters and all the people of their house, (16) that ye injure them not with any evil injury, nor bewilder nor amaze them, nor sin against them, nor appear to them either in dream by night or in slumber by day, from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah.

And again I swear and adjure (17) thee: May the great Prince expel thee, he who breaks thy body and removes thy tribe. And by the seventy Men who hold seventy sickles, wherewith to kill all evil Demons and to destroy all impious Tormentors,—are they cast prostrate in troops and thrown on their beds. Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluia.

Commentary

A charm made out for a man, his wife and household, against all manner of demons.

A comparison of these bowls, each written by a facile scribe with a well formed ductus, throws light on the history of the transmission and development of our magical inscriptions. Myhrman's text is shorter, in the other an appendix has also been added addressed against some particular but unnamed demon. The spelling in M. is more archaic, avoiding *matres lectionis,* the masc. pronom. suffix being represented by ה alone, ה is generally used for final *a,* the antique form מהנפיקנא is found (l. 6), as also the true reproduction of Hermes by ה. Also my text is more confused in the arrangement of the exorcised powers, M. follows the historical order. Formally then M. appears to be the elder text, in comparison with which mine is more inflated.

The most interesting point of difference is this: in M. the sealing is done "to you" throughout, but in my text "to thee" (l. 2, etc.). This plural has justly troubled Myhrman, and he suggests three possible explanations. But I believe the only explanation is that his text is polytheistic or rather a product of the common magic religion; in expressing three names of "the great God" Elaha, Shaddai and Sebaoth, the magician regarded them as a trinity of deities, just as in the magical papyri these Jewish (and other) divine names are invoked as so many deities (see § 11).[1] M's text is then of eclectic religious character. My text abjures all such polytheism, but that it is secondary to the other is shown by comparing them in ll. 9 and 10. M. retains its polytheistic plural; my text has clung to the form, but misunderstanding it has read ליכי (i. e. לכון = ליכי = לכי = לכו), and I suppose made it refer to the following feminine נפש, or to some feminine demon. For the same reason it reads, awkwardly, בכון in l. 10 for the correct להון. Thus an eclectic text, or its original, in which the deities invoked are the names of the Jewish God, has fallen into more orthodox hands and produced our monotheistic

[1] Cf., among the seven planetary spirits of the Ophites (Origen, *C. Cels.,* vi, 31) Ιαω, Σαβαωθ, Αδωναιος, Ελωαιος; the "angels" Αδωναι, Βασηημ, Ιαω, Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 182, l. 12; also in Pradel's Christian texts, *Sabaoth* and *Adonai* are found among angel-names (p. 47).

text, leaving but a trace or two of its original source. Such are the complications of this magic!

1. The opening singular invocation does not agree with the following plural in M.

יזידאד: name of a Nestorian writer, Payne Smith, col. 1586; Justi, p. 149, thinks the Syriac form an error, but our text confirms it. Our word could be Semitic = יזיד דד. Also note Izeddad in Justi, p. 147.

4. איזדנדוך: Justi, p. 146.

With אספנז, M, cf. in addition to his reference to Ašpenaz, *Dan.* 1: 3, the name Ašpazanda, Clay, *BE,* x, 41.

5. ציצי: plural, "the rays of light." This and the following term represent Hebrew כבוד.

יזיעון: with expression of the half-vowel, as in cases cited earlier; cf. Stübe, l. 62. For the following Hithpalpel, s. Jastrow, p. 407.

ירורין, M: so the spelling surely, see above, p. 81.

6. "from the body": cf. the *φυλακτήριον σωματοφύλαξ*, London Papyrus, l. 589, Wessely, xlii, 39.

8. For the angels, see § 13; for four angels (cf. the four gods surrounding the magician in Babylonian magic; see above, on 6: 10) see Lueken, *Michael,* 34 f. Nuriel-Uriel is generally the fourth. In Stübe, l. 58, עניאל takes this place. עסיאל occurs in *Sefer Raziel,* s. Schwab, *Vocabulaire,* 214, and probably in a text of Pradel's (p. 22, l. 16), where *ασα* and *αφα* doubtless = Asael and Raphael. N. B. the care with which the scribe rewrites the name of Asiel; all four names are made to terminate in *-iel.*

אירמיס = M. הרמיס (the latter the closest to the Greek of our spellings) = Hermes, see to 2: 2. Myhrman's suggestion, which I originally (and independently) favored, that the word is Hormiz = Ahura-mazda, is ruled out by the fact that that element in our proper names is given by הורמיז.

יהו ביהו: cf. Stübe, l. 15 בישמיה יהביה; Pognon B, no. 5, דביא, יה ביא; above 2: 2 (*q. v.*); יהו ביה, 13: 7. יהו ancient form of the divine Name, appearing (apart from biblical proper names and probable Babylonian forms) in the Assouan papyri, in the Greek magical papyri (Deissmann, *Bibelstudien,* 4 ff, Blau, p. 128 ff.) as *Ιαω*, surviving among the modern

Samaritans (Montgomery, *JBL,* 1906, 50, n. 5), and used in the magical texts current at Mossoul (*PSBA,* xxviii, 97). I think the doubled term here is theosophic: Yah-in-Yah; cf. the Christian Logos-doctrine and its terms, and Kabbalism. It is possible that Stübe's יהביה = Yahbēh (Ιαβη) = Yahweh. At all events this spelling-out of the full Tetragrammaton occurs in a proper name below, 26: 4.

9. אבהו, and פרנגין below, l. 12, probably correctly diagnosed by Myhrman as exalted sorcerers' names; see above p. 47. For the two Amoraim Abbahu, see *Jew. Enc., s. v.* A suggestion in another line is possible for Abbahu. King in his *Gnostics and their Remains,*[2] London, 1887, 246, says that the Pantheus or representation of the pantheistic Deity of the Gnostics, appearing on the Gnostic gems, "is invariably inscribed with his proper name ΙΑΩ and his epithets ΑΒΡΑΞΑΣ and ΣΑΒΑΩΘ and often accompanied with invocations such as ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ, 'thou art our Father.'" Our Abbahu may represent this epithet and the passage would accordingly preserve three of the Gnostic designations of Deity: Yahu, Father, Abraxas. For Abraxas see above, p. 57, and for treatments of the subject and bibliographies the articles "Abrasax" in Hauck's *Realencyk.*, *Jewish Encyc.,* and especially the splendid monograph by Leclercq, in *Dictionnaire de l'archéologie chrétienne,* etc. Variants in the bowls are אברכסיס and אברכיס. These forms represent *Abraxas* as against the original form Abrasax, hence I use the former word in the present volume. Myhrman remarks (p. 345): "As over against the view of Blau-Kohler (*Jew. Enc.* i, 130b) this would prove to be at least 'a single reliable instance' of this name occurring in Hebrew"—or at least in a Jewish document, as my text is. Abraxas is found in *Sefer Raziel,* 5a.

מחבלנא, מנטרנא: instances of the Syriac nominal formation from derived stems.

רוחי טבאתא: recalling the Jewish "good demons," see above, p. 76. The expression is also reminiscent of the Greek *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*, frequent in magic.

מנטרנא (2d): ppl. w. suffix. It is represented by three ppls. in M., the second = מנחרנא, which M. translates, with a query, "pierce." This is impossible; I would suggest to read ה for ח, and understand the Afel,

= (Rabb.) Heb. הזכיר, of naming a person to a deity and so placing him under his protection.

10. מירדוך: Mer-dûcht, = Mithra-dûcht, Justi, p. 208, *Bemerk.*

באנאי = באנא 27: 8; a masc. name among the Jews, *Sefer ha-Doroth* ii, 84. But these names appear to be indifferently masc. and fem.; cf. 1: 4. The same name בני is found in Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 238, and = the frequent Babylonian Bâni-ia, cf. the name lists in Clay, *BE,* viii, pt. 1, pp. ix, x.

11. סרנין אפיקי, occurring frequently in the unpublished No. 2918. I interpret this from the Syriac סרנא, as of the magic circle, cf. חזאר רבאניא, 39: 7, and see p. 88. The circle was used particularly for necromancy and devil-raising. Cf. Eliphas Lévi, *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie,* Paris, 1856, ii, l. 14. The objection to this interpretation is the entire obscurity of אפיקי.

יצערי: for איצערי, *iṣ'âr,* cf. Maclean, *Dict. of Vernacular Syriac,* 193b; for the meaning, see p. 94, above.

For the epithet קשיי, cf. the epithets *χαλεπός, violentus,* etc., of the demons; cases cited by Tambornino, *De ant. daemonismo,* 15, 23.

12. "under my own hand": there is much imitation of legal forms in magical formulas.

פרנגין: evidently a Persian name; Myhrman as from *farna,* "good fortune," and *gin* (?) comparing Pharnakes, etc., Justi, p. 92-96. I may compare the Persian name Frenanh, Justi, p. 105b.

זיעין, זע, parallel to M's זעין, זעא, in the latter as from root זעא.

13. בר משתאל = M. בר משתאיל, translated there "son of the inquirer of the oracle." We must go to the Assyrian for the explanation. There the corresponding form *muštâlu* means one who gives an oracle upon being asked, i. e. an oracle-giver, and is an epithet of deity. See Jastrow, *JBL,* xix, 99, and the reff. in Delitzsch, *Ass. Hwb., s. v.* שאל. The expression has the connotation of deciding the fates, with which cf. the following phrase in our text בר דנזירתיה גזירא may here be used like the Arabic *ibn,* without modifying its regimen. Or may the phrase = *bârû muštâlu,* "oracle-giving seer"? Some ancient phrase has been conventionalized and

personified. For the following expression concerning the inviolability of the "decree," cf. 38: 8.

מי מחראשי: ppl. pass. The root חרש came to be used particularly of poisoning. The זיפי are probably "hairs," Syriac *zeppâ*. Any portion of a person's body, especially hairs, nails, etc., as detachable, could be used in magic directed against him. See Thompson, *Sem. Magic,* Index, *s. v.* "hair," and with abundant citation of comparative magic, Abt, *Apuleius,* 179 ff.; also Blau, p. 161.

14. For the appearance of devils in animal forms, cf. the reply of the demon to St. Michael in a text of Pradel's (p. 23): "I enter their houses metamorphosed as snake, dragon, vermin, quadruped."

15. גיונין = *gᵉwânîn,* cf. l. 16, vs. M. גונין *gawwânîn* or *gaunîn* (?).

16. תיחבלון, תישנון: Paels, with י for preformative half-vowel. I understand תישנון and תיפרדון, of the demoniac bewilderment of the victim (see Jastrow, *s. vv.*), or actual insanity. M. has for these verbs "לא תידרון in their house"; Myhrman's translation, "shall not dwell," would require תדורון. It looks as if תידרון is for תיפרדון, or an error for תירדון, from פרד = רדא.

שחרתא: so also 8: 11, but generally in parallel occurrences, e. g. Myhrman's text, שינתא. The same noun is found in the Mandaic, שנתא וש' (*Ginza,* Norberg's text, ii, 18, l. 12), and the verb, שחר ושכב (*ib.,* l. 19). It means to "snore, sleep profoundly" (cf. Heb. תרדמה) = Arabic *šaḥara.* Cf. 6: 10.

17. סרא רבא: cf. 5: 31 and see p. 97. מפסים: cf. Ass. *pasâsu.*

"70 men holding 70 sharp sickles": i. e. the 70 angels or shepherds, representing the 70 nations, *Enoch* 89: 59 (originally regarded as good angels, Schürer, *GJV*³, iii, 198, n. 32, Lueken, *Michael,* 14, but later legend regarded them as fallen). The "sharp sickles" are an echo of *Rev.* 14: 14 ff., where the Peshitto uses the same words as here. This coincidence (cf. also *Mt.* 13: 37 ff.) argues for a common source of ideas.

שיציה: inf. of שיצי, Targumic but not Talmudic.

מסחפין: Pael pass. ppl., of the Syriac and Mandaic root "prostrate." Or possibly cf. the Rabbinic meaning "put on a cover," with reference to the inverting of the bowls, see to 4: 1, 6: 1. The "beds" are metaphorical of weakness and subjection, cf. *Is.,* 50: 11.

No. 8 (CBS 9013)

בישמיה דמרי אסואתא מזמן הדין כסא לחתמתא דביתיה דהדין גיונאי בר מאמי
דתיזח (2) מינה לילִיתא בישתא בישמיה דפזר יהוה אל לילִיתא לילי דיכרא ולִיליתא
ניקבתא ושלניתא וחטפיתא (3) תליתיכין ארבעתֵיכין וחמי[שתיכין ערטילן] שליחיתין
ולא לבישיתין וסתיר סעריכין ורמי אחור גביכין שמיע עליכין (4) דאביכין פלחם שמיה
ואימיכין פלחדד שמה שמעִ וצותִ ופוקִ מין ביתיה ומין דירתיה דהדין גיונאי בר
מאמאי ומין רשנוי איתתיה (5) בת מארת ותוב לא תיתחזין להון לא בביתיה ולא
בדירתיהון ולא בבית מישכבי[הון] מיטול דשמיע עליכין דאביכין פלחם שמיה ואימיכין
(6) פלחדד שמה מיטול דשמיע עליכין דשלח עליכין שמתא רבי יהושע בר פרחיא
אומית [עליכין ביקרא] פלחם אביכין (7) ובשום פלחדד אימיכין ניטא נחית לנא
מין שמיא ואישתכח כתיב ביה לשימועיכין ולחירודיכין בישמיה דפלסא פליסא דהוא
מתיב לכי ניטכי ופיטורכי גיטיכין (8) ופטוריכין אנתי לילִיתא לילי דיכרא ולִיליתא
ניקיבתא ושלניתא וחטפיתא הוֵי בשמתא . . . [רבי] יהושע בר פרחיא והכין אמר
לנא רבי יהושע בר פרחיא (9) גיטא אתא לכי מין עיבר ימא ואישתכח כתיב ביה
[ד]אביכין פלחם שמיה ואימיכין פלחדד שמה . . . כֵּין אִיתתיא . . . שמיע להון
מין רקיעא וְלאכין (10) שימין ביש . . . דודנא גדָא בגדא שמעי וצותי ופ[וק]י מין
ביתיה ומין דירתיה דהדין גיונאי בר [מאמאי ומין ר]שנוי איתתיה בת מארת ותוב
לא תיתחזין להון (11) לא בחילמא ולא בשחרתא דיממא מיטול דחתימיתי בעיזקתיה דאל
שדי ובעיזקתא דבית יהושע בר פרחיא ובשבעה דקדמוהי אנ[תי לי]ליתא ליל[י דיכר]א
ולִיליתא (12) ניקבתא ושלניתא וחטפיתא משבענא לכין באביר אברהם בצור יצחק
בשדי יעקב ב.ה שמו מִשְׁדַ ב.ה זִיכרו אִ..דְוֵרִיפְתָא ומיח . . . מומינא (13) עליכין
תיסבון מין הדא רשנוי בת מארת ומין גיונאי בעלה בר מאמי גיטכי וספרתין ל. . . .
ואיגרת שיבוק ב . . . ת משלַח ביד מלאכין קדישין בהן . . . צֵב[או]ת נורא בגלגלן
רכובי אל פנים (14) עומדים החיות מישתחות באש כיסאו ובמים דיגלי אהיה אשר
אהיה שמו אין שמו שמו . . שמ שמו ובמומתא דמלאכין קדישין ב אל
מל[אכא] רבא ובעזריאל מלאכא (15) רבא ובקבקביאל מלאכא רבא ובעקריאל מלאכא
רבא עקרית ענקתא בישאתא אף אנתי לילִיתא בישאתא קיבלי ביש[י] ואיגרת
שיב[וק] (16) ותוב לא תיהדרין עליהון מין יומא דנן ולעולם אמין אמין סלה
חתימי עלוהי . . . גבריאל תוב א לילִיתא בי[שתא] ורוחא בישתא

(17) על מרכבת או תיקטלין . . . תיתרחקין מין הדא [רשנוי] בת מארת
ויתקימין לח[יין] אמן אמן סלה הללויה

TRANSLATION

In the name of the Lord of salvations.

Designated is this bowl for the sealing of the house of this Geyônâi bar Mâmâi, that there flee (2) from him the evil Lilith, in the name of 'YHWH El has scattered'; the Lilith, the male Lilis and the female Liliths, the Hag (ghost?) and the Ghul, (3) the three of you, the four of you and the five of you; [naked] are you sent forth, nor are you clad, with your hair dishevelled and let fly behind your backs. It is made known to you, (4) whose father is named Palḥas and whose mother Pelaḥdad: Hear and obey and come forth from the house and the dwelling of this Geyônâi b. M. and from Rašnôi his wife (5) bath Mârath.

And again, you shall not appear to them in his (*sic*) house nor in their dwelling nor in their bedchamber, because it is announced to you, whose father is named Palḥas and whose mother (6) Pelaḥdad,—because it is announced to you that Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia has sent against you the ban. I adjure you [by the glory (= name)] of Palḥas your father (7) and by the name of Pelaḥdad your mother. A divorce-writ has come down to us from heaven and there is found written in it for your advisement and your terrification, in the name of Palsa-Pelîsa ('Divorcer-Divorced'), who renders to thee thy divorce and thy separation, your divorces (8) and your separations. Thou, Lilith, male Lili and female Lilith, Hag and Ghul, be in the ban [of Rabbi] Joshua b. P.

And thus has spoken to us Rabbi Joshua b. P.: (9) A divorce writ has come for you (thee?) from across the sea, and there is found written in it [against you], whose father is named Palḥas and whose mother Pelaḥdad, ... they hear from the firmament (10) Hear and they and go from the house and from the dwelling of this Geyônâi b. M. and from Rašnôi his wife b. M.

And again, you shall not appear to them (11) either in dream by night nor in slumber by day, because you are sealed with the signet of El Shaddai and with the signet of the house of Joshua b. Peraḥia and by the Seven (?) which are before him. Thou Lilith, male Lili and female

Lilith, Hag and Ghul, I adjure you by the Strong One of Abraham, by the Rock of Isaac, by the Shaddai of Jacob, by Yah (?) his name by Yah his memorial I adjure (13) you to turn away from this Rašnôi b. M. and from Geyônâi her husband b. M. Your divorce and writ (?) and letter of separation sent through holy Angels the Hosts of fire in the spheres, the Chariots of El-Panim before him standing, (14) the Beasts worshipping in the fire of his throne and in the water, the Legions of I-am-that-I-am, this his name And by the adjuration of holy Angels, by el the great angel, and by 'Azriel the great angel, (15) and by Ḳabḳabḳiel the great angel, and by 'Aḳariel the great angel, I uproot the evil Necklace-spirits. Moreover you evil Liliths, evil Counter-charms, ... and the letter of divorce (16). And again, do not return to them from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah. Sealed upon him Gabriel (?).

Again (I adjure you), evil Lilith and evil Spirit (17) or kill depart from this Rašnôi b. M. And be they preserved for life! Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluia.

Commentary

A charm for a man and his wife, particularly against the Liliths (a picture of one of which obscene creatures decorates the bowl), made out in the form of a divorce-writ. The inscription is very indistinct and towards the end becomes almost illegible. No. 17 is in large part an abbreviated and mutilated replica.

1. גיונאי: Gewânâi (cf. 7: 15), or Ge(y)ônâi (from גאון, or גון, "color"?). Cf. גיונאי appearing in Bar Bahlul's Syriac-Arabic lexicon, where it is equated with *wald,* etc., to which Payne-Smith adds, "vox corrupta ex *γόνος*," *Thes.,* col. 708.

מאמי, and below מאמאי, in No. 15 מאמא: one of the most frequent feminine names in these texts; see Nöldeke, *WZKM,* vi, 309, Lidzbarski, *Eph.* i, 75 f., 97, n. 3; ii, 419. Budge in his edition of Thomas of Marga's Book of Governors (ii, 648) gives a note contributed by Jensen that Mami is a name of *bêlit ilâni,* the mother-goddess.

2. לילית בישתא: the generic lilith is differentiated into several different species, the male and the female, the ghost and the vampire, hence "the

3, the 4, and the 5 of you" below. In the following text it is a question whether the 2d per. sing. or plur. should be read in many places. The two numbers are clearly distinguished in l. 7, end. But the obscurity consists in the equivalence of לכי and לכין, like the case of the loss of ן in the verbal forms in תין in later Aramaic, e. g. חתימיתי, l. 11; also אנתי, l. 15, is plural, as בישאתא shows. Also the confusion of ו and י in our script renders the distinction between masc. and fem. uncertain. Do the imperatives in l. 10 terminate in *î* or *û*, the latter a masculine form (inclusive of the feminine), the former possibly to be compared with the Syriac? My English "you" covers the uncertainty between sing. and pl.

בישמיה דפזר י׳ אל: a prophylactic "word," like the magical quotations from Scriptures; cf. a similar case at end of No. 42.

At end of l. 2 are named the five different "modes" of the lilith. שלניתא and חטפיתא are unique demoniac names, found only here and in No. 17. The probable identity of ח׳ with the Arabic Ghul suggests connecting ש׳ with the Arabic *si'lât;* Lane, *Lexicon,* 1365, and at length his *Arabian Nights,* c. 1, n. 21, and also van Vloten, *WZKM,* vii, 179, who quotes an Arabic author to the effect that the Si'lât is the witch of the feminine Jinns. (The Arabic root sa'ala, "cough," = Syriac שעל.). We have then to account for the loss of the ע. The form would be comparable to שאדניתא. Another possibility is = Assyrian *šûlû,* "ghost," Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.* 1036 (from עלה?), the formation being originally *šêlânîtu* (cf. *êlânu* from עלה). The witch or Ghûl is preferable in the context, however in No. 39 the Lilith appears as the ghost of a dead relative, so that the context does not determine the etymology.

חטפיתא, or חטיפיתא No. 17, "ravager," represents the Heb. תחמס ("ostrich"?—such is the tradition in Onkelos and LXX) in Targum Jer. to *Lev.* 11: 16, *Dt.* 14: 15 (where these two spellings also are found), among the unclean birds. Horrible bird-like forms were given to the demons by the Babylonian imagination, Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.,* i, 281; also cf. *Utukki*-series, B, 35 f. The ostrich itself even in the rationalizing Old Testament is half demoniac; cf. the notes on the ירורין, p. 81. Probably the ח׳ is exactly the Arabic Ghul, which is thus described by Doughty: "A Cyclops' eye set in the midst of her human-like head, long beak of jaws, in the ends one or two great sharp tushes, long neck; her arms like

chickens' fledgling wings, the fingers of her hands not divided; the body big as a camel but in shape like as the ostrich; the sex is only feminine. She has a foot as the ass' hoof and a foot as an ostrich," etc. (*Arabia Deserta,* i, 53, quoted by Thompson, *Sem. Magic,* 60).

3. תליתיכין : for the sharpening of the vowel, *t^{e}lîttâi* from *t^{e}lâttâi,* see my notes on פריכא, p. 73.

ערטילן: supplied from 17: 5, as also other bracketed passages. סעריכין is sing., as סתיר shows. Nakedness and dishevelled hair are standing descriptions of the lilith, witch, etc. See references above, p. 77; add Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie,* 88, and for Arabic legend, Wellhausen. *Skizzen,* 3, p. 32. The picture presents the abandoned character of the lilith—e. g. the Labartu is called a whore—, and also her shameful, outlawed position.

שמיע עליכין: על = ל as constantly in these texts and as in Mandaic. The naming of the demon's forbears has a compelling power, as part of name-magic; see p. 58. Cf. the naming of the parents of the demon Βαινχωωωχ in the invocation of his appearance in a charm of Wessely's (xlii, 60, from Brit. Mus. Pap. cxxiii). The same names distorted and applied *vice versa* appear in No. 17; similar names also in No. 11.

פוקי: often along with synonymous verbs, איתרחק, זוע, etc. Cf. the Babylonian *ištu bîti ṣî* (*Utukki*-series, iii, 158), the long series of imperatives in *Maḳlu*-series, v, 166 ff., etc.; *Mk.* 9: 25, *Acts* 16: 18; in Gollancz's Syriac charms; in the Greek, e. g. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 295, 298 (where the demon is also bidden not to disobey).

4. רשנוי: probably hypocoristic from Rašnu, name of a Zoroastrian genius, see Justi, p. 259. Cf. the names ראשנינדוך, רישינדוך, in Glossary.

5. מארת = מרתא (15: 2), "Martha."

6. "Rabbi J. b. P.": see commentary No. 32, and below, l. 7.

"by the *glory* of your father": hardly an appeal to the demon's sense of honor. יקר must be equivalent to "name," cf. the parallelism and the equivalence of the Name and the Glory in the Old Testament, where כבוד is also used of the human personality.

7. ניטא נחית לנא: the separation of the lilith from her victim is expressed in terms of a divorce-writ. This was a happy thought of the

magicians, who thus applied the powers of binding and loosing claimed by the rabbis to the disgusting unions of demons and mortals. The logic of the procedure was very simple—if only the liliths were as submissive to divorce as their human sisters. The decree is frequent in these bowl incantations,, and first appeared in Ellis's bowl, no. 1. But I do not know of any case of the occurrence of this magical *Get* outside of the bowls.

The magical writ affects the same forms and formalism as that of the divorce court.[1] In the parallel bowl, No. 17, a form of date is given (l. 1 הדין יומא), which was a requisite in the legal *Get*. The names of both parties are exactly given, hence the parents of the liliths are here specifically named. The very terms of divorce are repeated in 17: 2: שביקת ופטרית ותרכית יתיכי; cf. the facsimile of a *Get* given as a frontispiece in Amram's work (פטרית שבקית ותריכית יתיכי). It was necessary that the writ should be properly served on the divorcée, hence in 26: 6, שקולי גיטכי: "take thy writ," a sentence consummating the process, and then the divorced demon must betake herself from her victim's property, as commanded by the peremptory; "Hear, obey and go forth" (l. 10). But there is a difference; against spiritual powers divine authority was necessary. And so it is affected that the writ has come down from heaven (l. 7), that is, it belongs to the category of writs from foreign countries for which there were special forms; hence the גיטא אתא מן עיבר ימא, l. 9. The commissioners and witnesses are the holy angels, etc., l. 9 f. A rabbi is also at hand to seal as notary the divine decree, none other than the famous master-magician Joshua b. Perahia. For a further phase of this "divorce-writ" see to 11: 7. In l. 7, both the sing. and pl. are carefully used, so as to include both the definite lilith and also the whole brood.

7. חידוריכין, שימועיכין: Pael infinitives with first syllable in *i*.

פלסא פליסא: the root = "split asunder."

מתיב (?) may be ppl. from תוב in sense of Latin *reddere*.

11. "the house of Joshua": i. e. of the school of sorcery; in 34: 2 the sorcerer calls himself "J.'s cousin."

[1] See D. W. Amram, *Jewish Law of Divorce* (Philadelphia, 1896), esp. c. xiii; *Jewish Encyc., s. vv. Divorce, Get.*

בשבעה: "by the Seven"?—i. e. the seven angels, genii, etc.? The seven planets are so called simply in Syriac.

12. באביר אברהם וגו׳: cf. *Is.* 49: 24, אבי יעקב; for the Rock of Isaac, cf. *Is.* 30: 29, Rock of Israel. The "Shaddai of Jacob" is unique. The scribe was not mighty in the Scriptures. But cf. *Ecclus.* 51: 2: "give thanks to the Shield of Abraham, ... to the Rock of Isaac, ... to the Mighty One of Jacob."

13. אינרת שיבוק: another term for the divorce-writ.

From l. 13 to end the text is largely mutilated or illegible; this is the more unfortunate as there are traces of interesting apocryphal or kabbalistic passages. Viz. "the hosts of fire in the spheres"; "the chariots of El-Panim"; "the beasts worshipping in the fire of his throne and in the water," with which cf. the glassy sea of Revelation. The following term דינלי ("banners," then "cohorts") is a common word in the Targumic literature for the angelic hosts, according to *Shemoth Rabba* 15, = צבאות. (But the phrase may mean, "who is revealed as.") The language is Hebrew and the allusions are taken doubtless from apocalyptic literature.

14. עזריאל is known as an angel of the divine chariot, Schwab, *Vocabulaire, s. v.*, and עקריאל is found *ibid.*; n. b. play with עקרית.

15. The reference to the ענקתא indicates that witchcraft is behind these devilish manifestations; the lilith and the witch are practically identical, see p. 78.

17. "may they be established for life"; cf. the finale of the Mandaic texts, "Life is victorious." The same expression in 12: 3, and the negative wish against devils in Wohlstein 2426: 9; but in his no. 2417: 22 the verb is used of the resurrection. At least the vague idea of immortality may be contained in the phrases.

No. 9 (CBS 9010)

פורא רמינא ו[שקי]נא ועובדא (2) עבידנא והוא הוא במית . . . דרבי יהושע (3) בר פרחיא כתבנא להין גיטי לכל ליליתא דמיתחזין להון בהדין (4) דבבניש בר קיומ[תא] ודסרדוסת בת שירין אינתתיה בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא (5) דיממא דגיטא דפי[טורין] וְדשבוקין בשום אות מתוך אות ואותיות מתוך אותיות (6) ושום מתוך השימות ונקב מתוך [הנקבים] דיבהון איתבלעו שמיא וארעה טוריא איתעקרו ורמתא בהון איתמסי (7) אה שידי חדשי ודיוי ולטבי ליליתא בהון אבדו מן עלמא בכין סליקית עליהון לימרומא ואיתיתי עליכון (8) מחבלא לחבלא יתהון ולאפקא יתכ[ון מ]ן בתיהון ומן דירתיהון ומן איסקופתיהון ומן כל כת. . אתר בית מישכביהון דבאבנוש בר קיומתא (9) ודסרדוסת בת שירין אינתתיה ותוב לא [תיתחזון להון] לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינ[תא דיממא] . . . פטרנא יתכין (10) . . . ואגרת שיבוק[ין] . . . כדת בנת

Exterior

(11) אני לישמך עשיתי יהוה אלהים צבאות גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל חתומך על הדא חתמתא ועל הדא איסקופתה אמן אמן

Translation

The bowl I deposit and sink down, and the work (2) I operate, and it is in [the fashion of] Rabbi Joshua (3) bar Perahia. I write for them divorces, for all the Liliths who appear to them, in this (house of ?) (4) Bâbanôš bar Ḳâyômtâ and of Saradust bath Širîn his wife, in dream by night and in slumber (5) by day; namely a writ of separation and divorce; in virtue of letter (abstracted) from letter, and letters from letters, (6) and of word from words, and of pronunciation from pronunciations; whereby are swallowed up heaven and earth, the mountains are uprooted, and by them the heights melt away.

(7) Oh, Demons, Arts and Devils and Laṭbê, perish by them from the world! Therefore (?) I have mounted up over them (you?) to the celestial height, and I have brought against you (8) a destroyer to

destroy them (you) and to bring you forth from their house and their dwelling and their threshold and all place of the bedchamber of Bâbanôš b. Ḳ. (9) and of Saradust b. Š. his wife. And again, do not appear to them, neither in dream of night nor in sleep of day I dismiss you (10) letters of separation

(11, exterior) In thy name have I wrought, YHWH, God, Sebaoth, Gabriel and Michael and Raphael. Thy seal is upon this besealment and upon this threshold. Amen, Amen.

COMMENTARY

A charm for a man and his wife. The inscription is illiterate, and is largely parallel to (doubtless dependent upon) the Syriac text No. 32 = No. 33; also cf. No. 8.

1. פורא רמינא וישקינא: the same phrase appears in 32: 3 and 33: 1, whence the third word in the present text can be restored. It is very obscure and I propose the following explanation. פ׳ is a synonym for כוסא "bowl," and is the Syriac and Mandaic פוחרא (*puḥrâ*) which came to mean "symposium," but goes back to the root פחר, giving the words for the potter and his art, i. e. originally it was a potter's vessel. For the loss of the guttural in our present word, cf. Mandaic שורא for שוחדא, etc. רמינא I take in the common Syriac sense of laying a foundation; the bowl was placed, as we have seen, at one of the four corners of the house. For ישקינא, we must assume a parallel significance, and it is to be derived from שקע, treated as ל״א, in the similar sense "to sink" (the 1st Form is used as an active in Rabbinic). As the phrase appears in our Syriac bowls, which are largely colored by Mandaic idioms, the reference to this dialect is justifiable.

עובדא: see p. 51; in the parallels עבודא דעבוד.

2. In the lacuna מיתדמנותא might be read. הוא הוא is a Syriac idiom, taken from the Syriac parallel.

3. בהדין: awkward; probably for בהדין ביתיה ד׳; cf. 32: 5.

4. בבנוש: probably באבנוש in l. 8. The first element is *bâbâ* or *pâpâ* (Persian *p* often = Semitic *b*), Justi, pp. 54, 241, the second the Persian genius-name Anôš.

קיומ[תא] : ת was legible to the original copyist of these bowls in l. 8. The name signifies *patrona*. The masc. קיומא appears in Pognon B.

סרדוסת : apparently a form of Zarathuštra; see Justi, p. 379 f., where the frequent spelling *Zaradušt* is cited in names. But strange is the application of this masculine name to a woman.

שירין: cf. the name *Sîrîn*, Tabari's Chronicles, ed. de Goeje, i, 4, p. 100, l. 3.

דניטא דפיטורין דשבוקין: the repeated ד defies construction; cf. l. 6. The terms all appear in No. 8.

5. בשום אות מתוך אות וגי: a parallel phrase appears in 32: 6; here the words are Hebrew. The general sense of these obscure phrases is clear; they refer to the magical use of letters and words and the manipulation of their pronunciations, such for instance as we find in the treatment of יהוה and in the Greek magic of the seven vowels. Cf. Pradel, p. 35, l. 9, "in the name of these angels and letters."

6. ונקב וגי : this root appears in the Bible where it passes from the physical "prick, prick out," to the sense "distinguish," that is, in speech, "pronounce clearly." It is the question in *Sanh.* 56a whether נקב שם יהוה is so used or in the sense "blaspheme." In the present case it means "pronounce," and is synonymous to the Piel פריש as that appears in שם המפורש.[1] Mystic or traditional renderings of the Tetragrammaton are doubtless referred to, but all this is only mysteriously suggested here; the magician does not offer us samples of his rare art. There is a garbled form of these phrases in 32: 6.

דיבהון יתבלעו: cf. 7: 12.

טוריא: a Mandaic spelling for the plural in *ê*.

7. לטבי a category appearing only in the bowls, see above p. 81, and Glossary.

בכין: probably the Targumic "therefore."

This and the following line are difficult by reason of an inconsequent use of the pronouns; the scribe was writing by rote. Light is thrown

[1] For this discussion see Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonay*, 44 ff.

on the passage from 32: 8 f. (*q. v.*), where is given the tradition of Joshua b. Perahia's ascent to heaven, by which he obtained mastery over all evil powers. Our scribe boldly turns the 3d person of the legend into the first person—of himself,—an instance of the attempted identification of the magician with deity or master-magician.

לימרומא: so the parallel demands.

איתיתי: appears to be Afel; תי- is hebraizing.

8. מחבלא = המשחית, Ex. 12: 23; in the parallel the abstract חבילא.

11. For the asyndeton connection of the angelic names with that of Deity, see above, pp. 58 f, 99, and note the Greek parallels. Sebaoth appears to replace one of the four archangels; cf. the personification of S. in Myhrman's text.

No. 10 (CBS 16014)

דנא קמיעה לאסותה דהדא ניונדוך בת כפני וכפני בעלה בר שרקוי וזדו ברה וביתה ואיסקופתה כולה בשום יה יהו אה (2) חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין ואיסקופתה אינחור חורא ויה חירא בישמיה דללזריון ושבייאל וגבריאל ואיליא[ל] (3) ומחתמין הל[ין] זדוי וניונדוך בה הוא חתמא דחתמה אדם קדמאה לשת ברה ואיתנטיר מן ש[ידין] (4) ומן דיוין ומן מבכלין ומן סטנין תוב חתימין ומחתמין הלין בר שרקוי וניונדוך אינתתה בת (5) כפני וזדוי ברה בה הוא חתמא דחתמה נח לתיבותה מן מיה דטופנא (6) ויזדחון ויבטלון ויפקון ויתרחקון מינהון ומן ביתהון ומן ד[ירתי]הון (7) ומן בית משכביהון מן יומא דין ולעולם אמן אמן

Translation

This amulet is for the salvation of this Nêwândûch bath Kaphnî, and Kaphnî her husband bar Šarḳôi, and Zâdôi her son, and her house and her whole threshold, in the name of Yah, Yahu, Ah, ... (2) Sealed, and countersealed are this house and this threshold in the name of LLZRyôn and Šabiel and Gabriel and Eliel (3) And sealed are these, Zâdôi and Nêwândûch, with that seal with which the First Adam sealed Seth his son and he was preserved from Demons (4) and Devils and Tormentors and Satans. Again sealed and countersealed are these, the son of Šarkôi and Nêwândûch his wife b. (5) K. and Zâdôi her son, with that seal with which Noah sealed the ark from the waters of the Deluge. (6) And may they fly and cease and go forth and remove from them and from their house and their abode and their bed-chamber, from this day and forever.

Commentary

A charm for a woman and her family. It is decorated with a figure having a beaked, bird-like face.

קמיעה: see Introduction, p. 44.

ניונדוך: for the name see to 5: 1; the same person appears in No. 11.

כפני : probably for *Kafnâi,* "the hungry one." The woman's husband and father had the same name. This is a case of the father's name being given, against the rule; for other examples, see 12: 1, Pognon B, p. 98, and the name פאפא, in Lidzbarski 5.

שרקוי: cf. the Persian name *Serkoh* Justi, p. 296.

(י)זרו: the full spelling appears in l. 5; for the name, *ibid.*, p. 382. A *Z*ârôi appears in 37: 3.

2. אינחור וגו׳: I can make nothing out of these words.

For Šabiel and Eliel, see Schwab, *Vocabulaire,* 251, 57. The first name is probably mystical.

3. בה הוא: emphatic use of הוא; cf. *Dan.* 7: 15.

For these apocryphal references to the seal of Adam and Noah, cf. p. 64, and for the Jewish legends see *Jew. Enc.,* s. v., "Seth," "Noah." It is in the Babylonian story not the Biblical that the hero shuts himself in.

5. טופנא: found in Targ. Onk. to *Gen.* 6: 17, = *τυφῶν,* frequent in the Greek magical vocabulary.

No. 11 (CBS 16022)

A charm for a woman and her household, in terms of a divorce from the evil spirits.

The text would be legible only for a half, but for the interesting fact that it is one of four almost duplicate inscriptions. The longest and clearest of these is the Mandaic bowl, no. 5, published by Lidzbarski. Another is, remarkably enough, the first inscription of this category ever published, Ellis no. 1, in Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon,* 512 ff.; see § 2.[1] The latter is given in poor facsimile, and none has taken the trouble to collate afresh the bowl in the British Museum, a simple task which doubtless would have allayed the difficulties.

Of this text the bowl from Nippur is practically a duplicate, and, with the help of Lidzbarski's inscription, I am able to restore almost the entire text not only of our bowl but also of that in the British Museum.

There is also a fourth duplicate, No. 18. It can be read only by comparison with the three presented here, and so I have left it in its original place in my arrangement of these inscriptions, especially as it contributes nothing further to the understanding of their contents.

I have thought it worth while to present the three texts in parallel columns. This process facilitates the verification of emendations, while the variations which present themselves throw interesting light upon the natural history of magical inscriptions. We mark how magical terms which once had a meaning become blurred and obscured at the hands of generations of sorcerers and copyists, until sense becomes nonsense, or simple word or phrase receives a kabbalistic interpretation. The Mandaic appears to have the latest type of text, having evidently transferred its material from another script and dialect. Cf. the parallel texts in No. 7.

In the following texts I have slightly abbreviated the names in the 2d and 3d columns, and omitted a few unimportant phrases in the 3d (always so noted). It is not necessary to give a translation of Ellis's

[1] As suggested in that section, n. 4, this was the bowl obtained by Layard from Nippur.

bowl, as the text is now almost entirely intelligible. The enumeration of lines in Ellis's text is according to the spiral lines.

Lidzbarski 5	Ellis 1	No. 11
		אסותא מן שמיה להדא
		ניונדוך בת כפני דתיתסי
		(2) ברחמי שמיה מן
		לילתא ומבכלתא אמן אמן
	הדין גיטא לשידא	תוב תיזח ותיתבטל (3)
	ול[דיו]א ולסטנא ולנירין	ותיתרחק מינה מן ניונדוך
	(2) ול . . . ולאבטור	בת כפני ליליתא ומבכלתא
	טורא ול . . . וליליתא	ושערתא ועקרתא (4)
	דיבטלון מן (3) בהדנדוך	ותכלתא בשום מאן דאחיד
	בת ניונדוך ומן בהרד בר	להון לשידי [ולדיוי]
	איספנדרמיד ומן ביתה	ולילתא ובשום אהיה אשר
	כוליה	אהיה
על עסיר אבוגדאנא	(4) אל איסור בנדנא	אילסור (5) בנדנא
למלכון	מלכיהון	מליכיהון וש[ליטי]הון
		מלכיהון
דדיויא ושליטא רבא	דשידין ודדיוי שליטא	דִשׁ[ידי ודיוי ש]ליט[א רבא
	רבא	
דכולהין לילית[א] אשבית	דליליתא משבענא	ד]לילית[א אשבעית
אליך ומומינאליך חלדאם	עלכי חבסלם (5) לילית[א]	עליכי חלבם לילית[א]
לילית[א] ותאכלת לילית[א]		
פת בראתה ד זארנאי לילית[א]	בת ברתה דזרני לילית[א]	(6) בת ברתה דזרני לילית[א]
	אם דכר אם נוקבה	
דיאתבא באיתה ובעסכופתא		ד[יתבא] בביתה ובדירתה
דבאיתה ד חורמין בר		דניונדוך [בת] כפני
מחלפתא ודאחאתא פת		
דאדע		
ומאהיא ונטלא ושאקפא		[וש]קפא
והאנקא		
דארדקיא ודארדקאתא		דרדקי [וד]רדקתא
אשבית אליך ומומינאליך	משבענא עליכי	משב[ענא עליכי]

חאלדאס ל׳ ותאכלאת ל׳ וג׳
דתיתמחאי בטארפוס ליביד

ובמרוניתה דקאטריאויס
מלאכא דמשאלאט על
סחריא ודיויא ושידיא
ורוחיא וחומריא ולילאתא
האזין כתאביליך חלדאס ל׳
והאזין אפטארתיך
מן באיתה ופגרה דחורמיז
בר מ׳ ומן זוה א׳ פת ד׳
ומן בנה ובנאתה
כד דכאתביא שידיא גיטא

לענשאיון בכושתא ותום
לאהאדריא ולאמכדריא (?)
הא שקול גיטיך
וקאביל מומאתיך חלדאס וג׳
וקדא ופוק וערוק ועתראחאק
מן באיתה וג׳ דחורמיז וג׳
ולא תיחזאילון לאבחילמאיון
דליליא ולאבחיזואנון דימאמא
דעסיר וחיתים באיתה וג׳
בעזיקתה ד ציר גליף
אלאהא בשומיך אמאתעמא
האץ אבארהאגואת עוד עוד
עוד יא יא יאד יאד יאט יאט
עסיראתיא וחיתימאתיא
לילאתא
זיכריא ונוקבאתא

בעזיקתא דשלימון מלכא
בר דאויד
ד ציר גליף אלהא
שומה רבא ויקירא גליף

דתתמחין בטופרם לילביכין

ובמורניתה דתיקם
(6) גברא הוא שליט עליכון
דיוי ולילית

הא כתבית בכתבא
הא בטלית יתכין
מינה ומן ביתה דבהדנדוך
בת נ׳
(7) ומן ברה
כמא דכתבין שידין גיטין

ויהבין לינשיהון ותוב
לא הדרין עליהין
שקול גיטיכין
וקבילו . . . כין
ופוקו (8) ועיריקו
[מן] איסכופתא דבה׳ בת נ׳

בשום הינוֵ
והיתי טטם

. . . דתיקם גברא

ובעיזקתיה [דש]לימון

(9) דעלוהי
שם מפורש רבה

(7) דתיתמחין בטורפס
ל
ליבבכי
ובמורניתיה דקיל . . ס
דהוא שליט . . . עליכי

הא כתבית ליכי
והא פטרית [ית]יכי
מן ניונדוך וג׳]

[כמא שידי] (8) דכתבין
גיטי
לינשיהון
ולא ה[דרי]ן עליהין
שקולי גיטיכי

מן נינדוך (*sic.*) בת כפני
ולא תיתחז[ין ל]ה לא
בליליה ולא ביממא
ולא תשכבין [עימ]ה ולא
(9) תיקטלין ית בנה ובנתה
בשום ממינתיש שמר די
חבגזיג יו ידיד יט יט יט

בעזיקתה

דציר וגליף עלה
שם מפורש

אלהא שומה מפרשא
מרשעשאת
שית יומיא ברישית
צוביבת צ' יודע י' Etc.

מן יומי עלמא
ימי ששת ימי בראשית

אמן אמן אמן סלה

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for this Nêwândûch bath Kaphnî, that she be saved (2) by the love of Heaven from the Lilith and the Tormentor. Amen, Amen. Again, fly and refrain (3) and remove from Nêwândûch b. K., the Lilith and the Tormentor and Fever and Barrenness (4) and Abortion; in the name of him who controls the Demons and Devils and Liliths, and in the name of "I-am-that-I-am."

For the binding of (5) Bagdânâ, their king and ruler, the king of Demons and [Devils], the [great] ruler of Liliths. I adjure thee, Lilith Halbas, granddaughter of Lilith Zarnî, [dwelling] in the house and dwelling of Nêwândûch b. K. and [plaguing] boys and girls, (7) that thou be smitten in the courses (?) of thy heart and with the lance of, who is powerful over you.

Behold I have written for thee (i. e. a divorce), and behold I have separated thee [from N. b. K. etc.], [like the Demons] (8) who write divorces for their wives, and do not return to them. Take thy divorce from Nêwândûch b. K. and do not appear to her, neither by night nor by day, and do not lie [with her]. And do not (9) kill her sons and daughters. In the name of Memintaš (?) keeper of Habgezîg (?). Yô, Yad, Yaṭ, Yaṭ, Yaṭ. By the seal on which is carved and engraved the Ineffable Name, since the days of the world, the six days of creation.

Commentary

1. Nêwândûch b. Kaphnî: the same as in No. 10; here without mention of a husband. It is also the name of the mother of the client in Ellis's bowl.

2. רחמי שמיה: cf. "the great Lord of love." "Heaven" is used here and in parallel passages as surrogate for Deity, after ancient Jewish use; the same use in 18: 1 and Wohlstein 2422: 3.

3. שערתא : a new word. I would connect it with the Arabic root *s'r* (Heb. שער, סער), with the meaning "be hot, rage," etc. See the various derivative nouns in Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* 1363: *sa'r,* "burning, shooting," *su'r,* "demoniacal possession, madness, mange"; *sa'rat* (our very form!) "cough," etc. Possibly fever, or poison. The Arabic *su'r* connotes infection.

4. תכלתא: "bereavement," then used of abortion, the reference being to a mischievous killing by magic of the unborn child.

It is unfortunate that in the first line of Ellis's inscription, the name following נירך, i. e. "Nirig" is indecipherable from the facsimile. For נירך = נירנג, cf. נכל, on the Nêrab inscriptions, = Nin-gal. In אבטור טורא, the second word is a careless repetition of the first.

5. At the end of this line begins the parallelism with the two other inscriptions. Our very first word, which appears as one in a series of divine names, e. g. El-sûr, is explained from the parallel which shows that אל איסור was meant; the unusual form אל (= על) was taken to be = "god," and the passage became hopeless. The same process of corruption will be found below on the Mandaic side.

בנדנא: so in Ellis, but in the Mandaic bowl אבונדאנא (= אבונבאנא in Pognon B). See Lidzbarski's attempts at explanation. But our בנדנא is the elder form; see on 19: 6, 13, where ב' is both generic and personal.

מליביהון: the first י is an error as the subsequent spelling shows; the second represents the half-vowel. The scribe in our text has been confused and repeated his words here. For the "king of demons," see p. 74.

חלבס = חבסלס = חלדאס, in the three texts; cf. the names in the parallel texts Nos. 8 and 17: פלחס and פלחדד, פלחדד and פלחן. Proof of the impossibility of etymologizing on these forms! The accompanying lilith in the Mandaic, תאכלה, must be connected with our תכלתא above; abortion is personified. The granddam of the lilith appears to be better known as it is identical in all three inscriptions. The two liliths in the Mandaic are interpreted by Ellis's text; they are the male and female respectively; cf. below, l. 8, לא תשכבין עימה.

7. טורפס = טופרס = טאפרוס: these various forms throw no light on the word. It looks as if it were a corrupted Greek anatomical term.

לילביכין = ליבכבי (Ellis): our text explains the reading of the elder bowl לבב = ללב, the former a metaplasis of the latter; the same form in 18: 7.

? = תיקס = קאטריאוים: the latter has, as Lidzbarski recognizes, a peculiar Mandaic form. I am inclined again to hold that the parallel shorter forms are more original. The reading in our bowl is different from the other two. For תיקס גברא cf. אבדא נ׳, 3: 2.

הא כתבית: explained by the second column, where *plus* בכתבא i. e. the divorce-writ. Curiously enough the Mandaic has taken the interjection הא as a pronoun[2] and rendered it by האזין.

פטרית: cf. Ass. *paṭâru,* "break a charm."

כמא שידי דכתבין ניטי: cf. 8: 7. The additional thought appears here that inasmuch as demons divorce their spouses, divorce-writs must be as effective on them as among human kind. Cf. also No. 18. It may be noticed here that the first and third texts address a special lilith in the singular, the second goes over into the plural; the same uncertainty in No. 8.

9. בנה: (= plural) Mandaism; so also below עלוהי = עלה.

בשום ממינתש = Mand. אמאתעמא, the second text obscure. Again no light! There is considerable similarity in the following magical syllables.

בעיזקתיה וג׳: with the help of the parallels we can make out the reading. It and Ellis's inscription are almost identical. The Mandaic gives here a striking instance of perversion. The prepositional phrase עלה (or its equivalent) was understood as "God" and turned into אלהא; this took with it the ppls. ציר and גליף, which were raised to divine dignity to accommodate the epithet אלהא. The invention appears to have been prized, as the deity *Sîr-Geliph* is also introduced above in the same inscription. The שם מפורש is thus reduced to a travesty! The well-known Jewish phrase appears also in Schwab, E.[3]

[2] Cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.* § 81.

[3] For the true explanation of this term, see Arnold, *Journ. of Biblical Lit.,* 1905, 107 ff.

Solomon's magic ring (first mentioned by Josephus) inscribed with the Tetragrammaton is the subject of Haggada in *Gitt.* 68a, b. Later legend, especially Arabic, developed the wonders of this magic ring.[4] According to the end of our inscriptions this seal engraved with the divine Name was in existence since the week of creation (= בראשית). This is an addition to the ten things which according to *Pirḳê Abôth,* 5: 8, were created on the eve of the first Sabbath—among which were the alphabetic script and the tables of the Law.

[4] See *Jewish Encycl.,* xi, 438 ff., 448; for the Greek magic, Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 139, l. 28, and at length, p. 141 f.; for bibliography, Schürer, *GJV,* iii, 303.

No. 12 (CBS 9009)

אסותא מן שמיא לדדבה בר אסמדוך ולשרקוי (2) בת דאדה איתתיה ולבניהון
ולבנתהון ולביתיהון (3) ולקינינהון דיהון להון בנין ויחון ויתקימון ויתנטרון (4) מן
שידי ומן דיוי ומן שובטי ומן סטני ומן לוטתא ומן ליליתא ומן מבכלתא דמיתחזין
(5) להון מומינא עלך מלאכה דנחית מן שמיא כד גביל בדמת קרן ליה זיף זליף (6) מלאכה
דעביד רעותא דמרוהי ועל כיבשי מרוחי מסגי שאו ומישתבח בישמיא (7) שאו ותושבחתיה
בארעה סמו ויתמלאון ציציתְ דקימ[ין] ומטהרין מן יומי עלמא וניגריהון (8) לא
מיתחזין ברקדיהין ליה לעלמא כוליה ויתבין וקימין באתרהון נשפין כי זיקא ברקין כי
ברקא (9) אינון יבטלון וישמתון כל גיסי וקיבלי ואנקי ולוטתא וקריתא ושיקופתא
ואשלמתא ומללתא ושידי (10) ודיוי ושובטי ולילית֯א ופתכרי ומבכלתא וכל מידעם
ביש דיזחון ויפקון מן דדבה בר אסמנדוך ומן שרקוי (11) בת דאדה איתתיה ומן הוניק
ומן יסמין ומן כופיתי ומן מהדוך ומן אברהם ומן פנוי ומן שילי בני שרקוי ומן ביתיהון
ומן (12) קינינהון ומן דירתיהון כולה דשרן בה מן יומא דנן ולעולם בשום יהוה צבאות
אמן אמן סלה יהוה ישמורכְה מכול רע ישמור את נפשך

Exterior

(13) דאידרונא דאיספלידא

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for Dâdbeh bar Asmandûch and for Šarḳôi (2) bath Dâdâ his wife, and for their sons and daughters and their house (3) and their property, that they may have offspring and may live and be established and be preserved (4) from Demons and Devils and Plagues and Satans and Curses and Liliths and Tormentors, which may appear (5) to them. I adjure thee, the angel which descends from heaven—there being kneaded (something) in the shape of a horn, on which honey is poured—(6) the angel who does the will of his Lord and who walks upon the (throne-) steps of his Lord *še'û,* and who is praised in the heavens (7) *še'û,* and his praise is in earth *semû;*—they are filled with glory, who endure and keep pure since the days of eternity, and their feet (8) are not seen in their dances by the whole world, and they sit and stand in their

place, blowing like the blast, lightening like the lightning. (9) These will frustrate and ban all Familiars and Countercharms and Necklace-spirits and Curses and Invocations and Knockings and Rites and Words and Demons (10) and Devils and Plagues and Liliths and Idol-spirits and Tormentors and everything whatsoever evil, that they shall flee and depart from Dâdbeh b. A. and from Sarkôi (11) b. Dâdâ his wife and from Ḥônîḳ and Yasmîn and Kûfithâi and Mehdûch and Abraham and Pannôi and Šîlî the children of Šarkôi and from their house and from (12) their property and from their dwelling, wherein they dwell, from this day and forever, in the name of YHWH Sebaoth. Amen, Amen, Selah. "YHWH keep thee from all evil, keep thy soul."

Exterior

(13). Of the inner room, of the hall.

COMMENTARY

A charm for a man and his wife and their seven named children, in the form of an adjuration of a certain potent angel. There is rubrical reference to a magical operation for compelling this angelic assistance. The same family appears also in No. 16 and the Syriac Nos. 31, 33. Prof. Gottheil has presented a tentative translation in Peters, *Nippur,* ii, 182.

1. דרבה: probably abbreviated from *Dâdbuyeh;* see Justi, p. 75.

אסמנדוך: see *ibid.,* p. 281, the Armenian name Samandûcht.

שרקוי: see 10: 1.

2. דאדה: Justi, p. 75, *Dâdâ.* The name is Semitic, e. g. Palmyrene and Syriac דאדא, from root דוד. The name looks like a masculine (for the use of the father's name see to 10: 1), but may equal דאדיא, 39: 2.

4. שובטי: for the form cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 19, and for the species, p. 80 f., above.

5. כד גביל וג׳ (read דמות for דמת): a rubic directing an operation compelling the presence of the angel through a simulacrum and its manipulation. The insertion of the rubric into the text of incantation appears in the Babylonian magic, see King, *Babylonian Magic,* p. xxviii. It may be queried whether our sorcerer is not reciting a form unintelligible to him;

cf. the intrusion of rubrics into the Psalms. The ancient charm was for binding the good spirits as well as the evil; the incantation as well as the exorcism was a *κατάδεσμος* (see Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 2d part). In the early Babylonian magic images of the favorable gods were made and used in the rites; a good example is found in Zimmern's *Šurpu* series, no. 54 (p. 169 = Thompson, *Sem. Magic,* p. lviii). Probably idolatry has its basis in this magical idea. Reverence gradually obscured the idea that the gods were thus bound, it survived only in the word-magic. But in the present case a "horn" (symbol of power?), probably a cone of wax or the like is kneaded, and honey poured upon it, with which we may compare the antique anointing of the sacred stone or *bethel*,[1] wherein the suppliant literally "smooths" the face of of deity (Heb. חלה).[2] The rubric is, I think, unique in Jewish magic. For the magical use of honey, see Thompson in Index, *s. v.*

6. מרוה: for the plural, cf. instance in Jastrow, *Dict.*, 834b; or the form may be regarded as parallel to אבוהי.

We have here a bit of poetic lore about the angels, describing their worship and service of the Almighty. It appears to be a quotation from some Midrash. Who the angel invoked is, does not appear,—Michael? The terms סמו, שאו, are probably mysterious utterances to awe the hearer; cf. *ômô, ômô,* 3: 3 (from שמע, "hear," נשא "lift up in worship"?). For the description "blowing like the blast," etc., cf. *Ps.* 104: 4.

7. ציצית: cf. ציצי דצבאות, 7: 5. The description passes to a plural subject here.

נינריהון: a Rabbinical form; נגר = לגר = רגל, "foot." For ל = נ cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* 54.

8. The choric dances of the angels are a pretty fancy, cf. *Job* 38: 7.

[1] Small conical stones are found in the oriental explorations, doubtless domestic *baitylia;* see Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente,* 177, and Scheil, *Mémoires de la Délégation Perse,* vii, 103, 112 f. (Fig. 34-37, 340 ff, 374, 381).

[2] For an extensive collation of like instances in Graeco-Roman magic see Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius,* 222 ff., 227. May the term in Apuleius, *βασιλεύς*, the magic-god whose image is formed for purposes of sorcery, (a term much disputed by the commentators) = מלך = מלאך, the word used here?

9. For the גיסי and שיקופתא, see 6: 2 and p. 86. אנקי is a masculinized form of ענקתא (see p. 88).

11. הוניק: I cannot identify. The Glossary shows two other men of the same name.

יסמין: a Persian name, = "jasmine," cf. Justi, p. 145.

כופיתי: the same name in No. 2 (in אי-).

מהדוך: cf. Syr. מהדוכתי, Justi, p. 186.

פנוי: the Arabic Fannuyeh; see Nöldeke, *Persiche Studien,* 405.

שילי hypocoristic of שילא, name of several Amoraim; see *Seder ha-Doroth,* ii, 347. Cf. biblical שלה, from שאלה. שלא, שלי, also occurs in the Nabataean, *CIS,* ii, nos. 185, 208, 221. Nöldeke (in Euting, *Nab. Inschriften,* 74) vocalizes the name Sullai, and Berger (see to No. 208) compares the Nabataean name Sullaios. But Lidzbarski (*Eph.,* ii, 16) rejects this derivation and derives the hypocoristic from שלם.—Note that among these nine souls only one strictly Jewish name appears.

12. The scriptural quotation is from Psalm 121,—a psalm admirably adapted for a charm. Cf. note to 5: 5.

13. The two words: "of the room (recess, bedchamber, etc.), of the hall (also, cavern)" evidently refers to the place where the bowl was to be placed. The first word may be in construct state, or the two terms may be parallel, as the words might mean the same thing. אידרון = Ass. *idrânu,* and is current in the Aramaic dialects. Jastrow defines אספלידא as especially a "sitting room in the shape of an open hall"; for some discussion of its etymology, see Payne-Smith, col. 315.

No. 13 (CBS 8694)

סכרי פומיהון דכוליהון עממיה תגממיה (2) ולישניה מן קמה דבהמנדוך בת סמאי (3) ורחמיאל מלאכה וחֲביאל מלאכה ו[ח]ניניאל מלאכה (4) אינון, מלאכין ירחמון, ויחבבון ו[יחנון] ויחבקון ית בהמנדוך (5) בת סמא באנפי כל בני אדם [דא]ולד ית חוה ניעול לקדמיהון, (6) מילבושהון, ילבשונה ומיכסותהון, יכסונה מיעיל חיסדא דאלהא, (7) עימה, יתבין, מיזיה מיזי, מיזייהין כדשפיר בשום יהוה ביה אלאל רבה (8) דחילא ודמימריה כל אסו, הדין רזא דריסת קים ושריר לעולם ועד קלקל. . .

Exterior

(9) קל קלא ברזי קל קלא דבְ . . מְ . . . רוניתא קלא דאיתתא. בתולתא דימחבלא ולא ילדא חסי נחבי (10) נחבי וניתי אפרה בר שברדוך לגוף, ביתיה ולגו גופה דבהמנדוך בת סמא (11) איתתיה כי אבליתי דימחבלא ולא ילדא כי אסה חדתתא ליכלילי אמן ואמן (12) ושריר וקים אסותא מן שמיא לבהמנדוך בת סמא אפרפרט . . . חאמיץ אעיקיהי . . אמן אמן סלה אסותא ושלמ[א מן] שמיה לעולם ו[לעד] ועד

Translation

Closed are the mouths of all races, legions (2) and tongues from Bahmandûch bath Samâi. (3) And the angel Raḥmiel and the angel Ḥabbiel and the angel Ḥanniniel, (4) these angels, pity and love and compassionate and embrace Bahmandûch (5) b. S. Before all the sons of Adam whom he begat by Eve, we will enter in before them; from their clothing they will clothe her and from their garments they will garb her, the garment of the grace of God. (7) With her they will sit, on this side and on that, driving away (demons?), as is right. In the name of YHWH-in-Yah, El-El the great, (8) the awful, whose word is panacea, this mystery is confirmed, made fast and sure forever and ever.

Exterior

(9) Hark a voice in the mysteries! Hark the voice of, the voice of a woman, a virgin travailing and not bearing. Quickly be enamored,

(10) be enamored and come Ephrâ bar Šabôrdûch to the marrow of his house and to the marrow of Bahmandûch b. S. (11) his wife; as (she was) a virgin (?) travailing and bearing not, so (may she be) fresh myrtle for crowns. Amen, Amen. (12) And made fast and sure is salvation from Heaven for Bahmandûch b. S. (13) A preparation (?) leaven, press it (?) Amen, Amen, Selah. Salvation and peace from Heaven, forever and ever and ever.

Commentary

A charm for a certain woman against the reproach of barrenness, that her husband may love her and she may have children by him. The couple is the same that figures in No. 1, which is particularly a charm against the liliths; these are supposed to have prevented the natural fruit of the human union, affecting not only the woman but also the man's love and virility. At the end probably is given an aphrodisiac recipe.

This text and No. 28 are unique among early Semitic incantations, for they are love-charms. In this they bear the closest relation to the Greek erotic incantations, on which I will speak more particularly under No. 28. But in the present text it is the barren forsaken wife who speaks, not the passionate lover, as in No. 28 and the Greek charms. The incantation has a Jewish cast in its address to certain angels, whose names are expressive of love and in its use of biblical divine names. Apparently the text is shortened from a longer model. It is illiterate in style and script, and contains numerous Hebraisms. A feature is the use of a wedge-shaped sign (indicated in the transliteration by a comma), occurring as a separator between words, but without consistency.

1. סכרי : for סכירי.

עממיה תגממיה ולישניה: either antique emphatic plurals, or else = Mandaic plural in יא—(see to 9: 6). The second word is an artificial enlargement of the Syriac *tegma* (*τάγμα*) for the sake of assonance with ע' (spelt in the usual archaic Syriac fashion). The passage is reminiscent of *Dan.* 3: 4. Do the words refer to classes of mankind, and the taking away of the woman's reproach among men? Or not rather to ranks of demons?—to whom we expect some reference; cf. p. 80. The closing of their mouths means forstalling their curses, cf. p. 85. תגמא is particularly

used of the cohorts of evil (Payne Smith, *s. v.*) and in the Peshitto translates the "legions of angels" in *Mt.* 26: 53.

3. The three angels appear (upon some reasonable emendation) to have names corresponding to the verbs in the next lines. Angels were chosen, or invented, for the pregnant meaning of their names; so Raphael became the patron of healing. Raḥmiel is the genius of love in No. 28, and in one of Thompson's Hebrew charms from Mossoul (*PSBA,* 1906-1907), which contain many incantations for love, love between man and wife, and also for breaking marital love; once we find a philtre in which the angels invoked are Ahabiel, Šalbabiel, Opiel, names signifying love and its passion (1907, p. 328, no. 80). חביאל and חננאל are found in Schwab's *Vocabulaire,* and the latter also in Stübe, l. 56.

5. The line is obscure; it appears to present a dramatic scene in which the sorcerer and his client, in the presence of the adversaries, shall obtain judicial vindication of love from the favoring angels. The reference to Adam and Eve's offspring has a sympathetic value.

6. מילבוש וגי: assimilation of מן, as in Hebrew; for the idea cf. 2: 2.

מיעיל חיסדא: a common Semitic idiom; cf. *Is.* 61: 10, *Eph.* 6: 11; in the Samaritan, אלביש אימנותא, בגד כפר ללבש (Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca sam.* ii, pp. xlii. 197, § 24); actual investing with "grace" occurs in the newly-found Odes of Solomon, 4: 7: מנו גיר נלבש טיבותך.

7. מיזיה מיזי: again Hebraic. The following word may be a dittograph, or a Pael of זוח. For this protection on right and left, cf. 6: 10.

For יהוה ביה see to 7: 8. אלאל, in the Mandaic religion, epithet of the sun-deity (Norberg, *Onom.,* 9, Brandt, *Mand. Schr.,* 31), also found in the Greek magic, Wessely, xlii, 67. It may be a magical reduplication; but cf. the reduplication of אל in the South-Arabic plural, and the Hebrew אליל, probably once a divine name—to be connected with Ellil of Nippur? —see Clay, "Ellil, the God of Nippur," *AJSL,* 1907, 269.

8. כל אסו: cf. 15: 2.

דריסת: this spelling occurs also in a neo-Syriac manuscript published by Lidzbarski (*Die neu-aramäischen Handschriften der königl. Bibliothek z. Berlin,* Weimar, 1896, 447); otherwise דרוסת = צרוצת. For a discussion of the word and its origin see Nöldeke, *Neusyrische Gram.,* 386.

קים ושריר: the same formula in Lidz. 5.

At the end of this line which is on the edge of the bowl, the scribe has attempted to continue and has written a few characters; he then started afresh on the exterior.

9. קל קלא : קל is used like the Hebrew קול. The piteous plaint of the sufferer is thus expressed, to move the sympathy of the celestial ones. In the same way the Babylonian magical texts preface their rites with a description of the plight of the patient; also the biblical Psalms often commence in like manner. A similar phrase appears in a bowl of Pognon's, B 20, but there the reference is to the curses of unfortunate souls which alight on the living. There may be the reference here to such a ban—of a virgin gone to her death without children. In this case חסי (= biblical חם, Syriac חס), would refer to the stilling of her "tongue." (Cf. the magical use of *σιγή* in a text of Wessely's xlii, 60 f.). But the repetition in l. 11 inclines me to the view that the virgin who "travails and does not bear" is the wife, subject perhaps to miscarriage or feminine maladies. Then חסי would be from חוס = חוש, "hasten," and so = "quickly," cf. Ass. חסא; the word would then correspond to the frequent *ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ* as at the end of the Hadrumetum love charm (see to No. 28), and see note to 14: 4.

נחבי נחבי וניתי: the verb used for "love" is חבא, where we expect חבב; cf. Heb. אהב. For this triple adjuration, see No. 28.

10. לגוף ביתיה וגי : I have tried in my translation to express the difficult word גוף, which primarily "body," comes to mean the essence, essential thing. The reference is sexual, and the word has such connotations (see Jastrow, *s. v.*).

11. כי אבליתי: this appears to be an error for בתולתא, as in l. 9; or possibly ppl. fem. in *-tê*, "mourner"? כי ... כי are used correlatively, and we must suppose a lacuna: as she (was) in the joyless condition of childlessness, so (her future state shall be symbolized by) fresh myrtle for crowns. Some literary form has been so rubbed down as to be almost unintelligible. For this correlation of כי ... כי, see some, as yet unnoticed cases in the Hebrew, e. g. *Gen.* 18: 20.[1] Myrtle as sacred to the goddess of love (Baudissin, *Studien,* ii, 198 f.) makes an appropriate simile.

[1] See my notes in *JBL,* 1912, p. 144.

12. אפרפרט וג׳: this line is provokingly obscure. Since a magical philtre is here prescribed, I venture to suggest that פ׳ = Latin *praeparatum* (the verb being used by Pliny for preparing drugs, foods, etc.). Or it may be the Rabbinic פרפרת, "hash, salad" (which however does not explain the ט). חאמין is leaven, which as a ferment would be appropriate to an aphrodisiac. אעיקיהי is fem. imperative, "press it." Aphrodisiac herbs, used magically or medicinally, are common in all erotic praxis.

No. 14 (CBS 16917)

[הדין כסא] בישמך אני עושה יהוה אילהא רבא הדין כסא ניהוי לחתמתא להורמיזדוך
בת מהדוך אשבעית עלך מרס (2) [ב]ישא בשום אגרביס קדישא בשום מץ מץ בשום
סף סף יהוק יהוק דרחיק ית מרכבתיה על ימא דסוף א (3) דויד מזמור ים
סוף תוב אשבעית עליכון במן דאשרי שכינתיה בהיכל נורא וברדא וכורסיה
(4) . . א מלכא רמא הללויה הללויה יחוש יחוש אחושיה ובשום מיכאיל וגבריאל המן . . .
בצור . . . ל (5) בשמיה דשריאל בשמיה דסרפיאל צוריאל וסרסמיאל גדריאל פני פניאל
נהריאל וכל זיקין (6) ומזיקין בישין דאידכר שמיהון בכסא הדין וידלא אידכרית שמיהון
בכסא החין יא (7) יא יחוש תבון תמן ותרמון יתבין לגו נורא יקידתא וילשלחיבת אישתא
אמ אמין אמן סלה

Translation

[This bowl] in thy name do I make, YHWH, the great God. May this bowl be for the sealing of Hormizdûch bath Mehdûch. I adjure thee (2) evil, in the name of holy Agrabis, in the name of MṢ MṢ, in the name of SP SP YHWḴ YHWḴ, who removed his chariot to (above?) the Red Sea (3) David, the Psalm of the Red Sea. Again I adjure you by him who lodged his Shekina in the temple of light and hail, and his (4) ... the exalted king. Halleluia, Halleluia. Oh avaunt, oh avaunt, avaunt! And in the name of Michael and Gabriel..... (5) in the name of Sariel, in the name of Seraphiel, Sûriel and Sarsamiel, Gadriel, Peniel, Nahriel. And all Blast-demons (6) and evil Injurers, whose names are recorded in this bowl and whose names are not recorded in this bowl,—oh, (7) oh, avaunt, sit down there! And ye shall be cast down, sitting within the glowing light and fiery flame (8). Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

A charm for a certain woman, in the name of YHWH and the angels, against some definite (now obscure) demon in particular, and against the devils in general.

2. מין מין: the syllable is *Athbash* for יה; cf. מצפץ = יהוה, Stübe, l. 66 and p. 63. אנרכים is probably also a mathematical anagram for the divine name or power; cf. Abraxas, = אברכים, etc. (see p. 57, and to 7: 9), of which the present form may be a corruption. The syllable סף seems to have suggested the sea of סוף. יהוק is for יהוה.

3. דויד: the lacuna makes the reference obscure; a reference to one of the Psalms of David, or, by error to the Song of Moses?

דאשרי שכינתיה: the Targumic phrase, e. g. *Dt.* 12: 5.

בהיכל נורא וברדא: hail and fire are frequently found together in the Old Testament as manifestations of the divine presence; e. g. *Ps.* 18: 13 f. *Ezek.* 38: 22. But cf. especially *Rev.* 11: 19: "Then was opened the temple of God that is in heaven; and there was seen in his temple the ark of the covenant; and there followed lightnings and voices and thunders and earthquake and great hail."

4. אחושיה, יחוש, יחוש: cf. יא חוש, l. 7; Yâ = interjection "Oh." Reitzenstein has called attention to the equivalence of these expressions (commenting on Stübe, l. 14, *Poimandres*, 292, n.), to the ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ of the Greek magic, as applied to demons in the sense of "at once avaunt." For examples, see the endings of nos. 3, 5, 6 in Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln,* and the editor's note p. 13. Cf. a Christian charm in Pradel's, p. 72: *veniat sanatio celeriter, abeat abeat abeat malum.*

5. All these angel names are found in Schwab's *Vocabulaire,* our סרסמיאל being probably the same as the סרמיאל there. For magical references to Suriel, see Lueken, *Michael,* 71.

6. The sorcerer spares himself the trouble of naming the evil spirits by applying a "blanket" charm to them all; cf. 1: 14.

וידלא: see to 3: 3.— אידברית: evidently a confusion between the passive and the 1st person active.

ההין: the only instance in these bowls of this rare demonstrative; elsewhere here הדין

7. תרמון: probably Etpeel.—For the curse at the end cf. 7: 17.

No. 15 (CBS 16087)

בישמך במימרך מרי כל אסותה אלהא דרחמי (2) אסותא דישמיא תהוי לה לביתיה
דהורמיז בר ממא [ול]דירתה דדודי בת (3) מרתא ולברגלל בר דודי ולברשיבבי בר
טשיהראזד [ול]ביתה כוליה ולדירתה (4) כולה לאם מן סליק ואטפי ואטרפי דאם
מן מנא אינש לאם לא סליק ואטרפי דאם אינש (5) מנה ביהיבדין ואינש לאם לאם
לא סליק ואטרפי דאם אינש מנה כינתי ומניתי עליכון רוחין ושיקין (6) ושובטין
וירורין ומגעין ושיבין וחרשין בישין ועובדין תקיפין ופתכרין ולילית[תה] (7)
. אסרית יתכון באיסורי נחשא ופרזלא וחתמית יתכון בצורת עיזקתא דנורא
. (8) ופטרת יתכון מנהון מן הורמיז בר ממא ומן דודי בת [מרתא
ומן] ברגלל בר דודי ומן ברשיבבי [בר] טשיהראזד (9) ומן מהוי בר
דודי בשום רופיאל וסוריאל וגבריאל . . . ריאל ורחמיאל ו.חטיאל וסוריאל
וסרריאל ובחותם יהוה צבאות קים עלמין [אמן א]מן אמן

Translation

In thy name and in thy word, Lord of all healing, God of love. (2) Salvation of Heaven for the house of Hormiz bar Mâmâ and for the dwelling of Dôd(â)i bath (3) Marthâ and for Bar-gelâl bar Dôdâi and for Bar-šibebî bar Cirâzâd, even for all her house and dwelling (4).

Lâs min selîḳ: waṭrefê dâs min mena
Enaš lâs lâ selîḳ: waṭrefê dâs enâš (5) *menâ*
Bhybdyn
Wenaš lâs lâs lâ selîḳ: waṭrefê dâs enâš menâ.

I scan and rhyme (?) against you, Spirits and Goblins (6) and Plagues and Howlers and Strokes and Circlet-spirits and evil Arts and mighty Works and Idol-spirits and the evil Lilith (7)..... And I bind you with bonds of brass and iron and seal you with the figure of a seal of fire, ... (8) And I banish you from Hormiz b. M. and Dôdâi b. [M. and] Bar-gelâl b. D. and Bar-šibebî b. C. (9) and Mehôi bar Dôdâi, in the

name of Rophiel and Suriel and Gabriel [and ...] and Raḥmiel and .ḥatiel and Suriel and Serariel . And by the seal of YHWH Sebaoth is it established forever. Amen, Amen, Amen.

COMMENTARY

A charm for several persons, whose relations to each other are not definite. They may be members of one household—a kind of *Pension.* The virtue of the charm lies in the use of a doggerel couplet. The figure in the center of the bowl is a serpent with its tail in its mouth; see p. 54.

1. הורמיז: for this abbreviated form of Ahura-mazdah, see Justi, p. 98, the same name in Lidz.

מאמא = מאמאי, מאמי, as in No. 8.

דודי: 38: 4, דודאי; hypocoristicon from דוד, "friend, uncle," etc.; cf. the biblical name דודו and its variant דודי, also Dâdâ, 12: 2. The present name is feminine; may it mean the *dûdâi,* "love-apple"? Justi, p. 86, lists a Dûday.

2. מרתא: a Jewish name found in the Gospels and in a Palestinian ossuary inscription (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 318) = מארת, 8: 5.

ברגלל: a proper name after Arabic formation? גלל = "round lump, excrement," etc. Galal is a biblical name.

ברשיבבי: ש׳ is a form of necklace charm, see to l. 6. The mother has named her child after the amulet whose virtue she supposed gave to her or protects the babe.

טשיהראזד: the Persian Cihrâzâd; see Justi, p. 163. The טש is an attempt to represent the Persian hard *ch.* The name is the same as that of the famous *raconteuse* of the Arabian Nights.

3. ביתה: doubtless referring to Dodai, who appears to have procured the charm for the household.

4. לאם מן סליק וג׳: this and the following line contain a magical incantation expressed in a rhyming doggerel couplet. (In the first occurrence of ואטרפי, the ר was first omitted, then written above, and finally the word was rewritten that there might be no infraction of the charm.) First of all, there is a couplet rhyming at the caesuras and at the end;

then the last line is repeated in l. 5, introduced by the obscure combination ביהיבדין. A similar doggerel formula is presented by Myhrman in his edition of the Babylonian magical *Labartu* series (*ZA*, xvi, 188; cf. Jastrow, *Rel.*, i, 339). It is there called a *šiptu*, "incantation," and runs thus (following Jastrow's arrangement):

ki | rišti libiki | rišti la libiki | la libi | piš | pišti ša anzišti | ša anziš | šu anziš | anziš.|

For Greek parallels see p. 61. The repeated מנא of the couplet is taken up by כינתי ומניתי. The roots מנא and כון may refer to the scansion of the couplet.

5. שיקין = the Arabic demon *šiḳḳ*—sometimes interpreted as one-half (*šiḳḳ*) man, one-half demon, but probably a demon of weariness; see Lane, *Arabian Nights*, c. 1, n. 21, van Vloten, *WZKM*, vii 180.

6. ירורין: see p. 81; here between categories of maladies, in Myhrman between "devils" and "spirits."

שיבין: the Targumic שבבין (Jastrow, p. 1510), a feminine ornament, some kind of pendant chain, see Krauss, *Talm. Archäologie*, i, 204 and note; belonging to the category of חומרי, ענקתא, etc., see p. 87 f. Cf. the name above ברשיבבי, where the uncontracted form survives.

7. Brass, lead, fire, all potent against demons. Cf. the "chains of lead," 39: 4 f. The bonds of hell are called *catenae igneae* in a Latin charm, Wünsch, *Ant. Fluchtafeln*, no. 7; also the "adamantine chains" in Paris Papyrus, Wessely, xxxvi, l. 1227 ff.

9. Mehôi: hypocoristic, cf. Mehducht, etc.

No. 16 (CBS 2920)

אסותא מן שמיא לדדבה בר אסמנדוך (2) ולשרקוי בת דאדא איתתיה ולחוניק וליסמין (3)ולכופיתי ולמהדוך ולפנוי ולאברהם ולשילי בני שרקוי (4) ולביתיהון ולקינינהון ודיהון להון בנין ויחון ויתקימון ולא יגע (5) בהון כל מזיק דאית בעלמא ובישמיה רבה דיקרי אלהא קדישא דחרשי ליה (6) דכביש חשוכה תחות נהורא מחתא תחות אסותא סיתרא תחות בינינא חבלתא (7) תחות שמתא רוגזא תחות ניחא כבישין כולהון בני חשוכה תחות כורסיה דאלהא דחי. (8)שמיה אסירין כבישין דיוי נקיטן כדנא רוחי בישתא וחומרי זידניתא ושומהתא ורברבי (9) דחשוכה ורוח סרי ונאלי ומבכלתא דליליה ודיממא ולוטתא ואנקתא וקיבלי ומללתא ומומתא (10) ואישתקופתא ואשלמתא פגעא ופנעיתא ובתקלא דקריה ואסרה דמיסכינותא ושידי ודיוי וסטני (11) ופתכרי וליליתא וחרשי בישי ועובדי תקיפי ושבע מבכלתא דליליה ודיממא אסירן כבישן ומשכבן (12) מן דדבה בר אסמנדוך ומן שרקוי בת דאדא איתתיה ומן הוניק ומן יסמין ומן כופיתא ומן מהדוך ומן פנוי (13) ומן אברהם ומן שילי בני שרקוי ומן ביתיהון כוליה ומן קינינהון ומן דירתיהון כולה מן יומא דנן ולעולם אמן (14) אמן סלה ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן יגער יהוה בך הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אוד מצל מיאש

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for Dâdbeh bar Asmandûch (2) and for Šarḳôi bath Dâdâ his wife and for Hônîḳ and Yasmin (3) and Kufithâi and Mehdûch and Pannôi and Abraham and Šilâi the children of Šarkôi, (4) and for their house and their property, and that they may have children and may live long and be established, and that (5) no Injurer in the world may touch them.

And in his great name, whereby the holy God is called—wherein are arts (?)—(6) which suppresses darkness under light, plague under healing, destruction under construction, injury (7) under ban, anger under repose: suppressed are all the sons of darkness under the throne of God, in whose (?) name (8) are bound, suppressed Devils; gripped likewise are evil Spirits and impious Amulet-spirits and Names and Princes of (9)

darkness and the Spirit (breath) of foulness and fatigue and the Tormentors of night and day and Curses and Necklace-charms and Words and Adjurations (10) and Knockings and Rites, the Plague and the she-Plague and the voice of Invocation, and the Spell of poverty and Demons and Devils and Satans (11) and Idol-spirits and Liliths and Arts and mighty Works and the seven Tormentors of night and day. They are bound, suppressed and laid, (12) away from Dâdbeh, etc. (as in ll. 1 ff.), (13) and from all their house and from their property and from all their abode, from this day forever. Amen, Amen, (14) Selah. "And YHWH said to Satan," etc.

COMMENTARY

A charm for the large family that appeared in No. 12. It contains an extensive and repetitious list of demoniac species.

5. בישמיה וגו׳: I have translated literally; the original form may have been: ב׳ ר׳ דאלהא ק׳ דקרי חרשי ליה "the great name ... which magicians invoke."

6. כביש: ppl. act.

7. "Sons of darkness": contrast the "sons of light," 1: 9.

8. רברבי דחשוכא: cf. the Pauline *τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου*, *Eph.* 6: 12.

רוח סרי ונאלי: lit. "foul and laboring spirit" (breath; in *Bekor.* 44b (an obscure passage) there is a disease or demon called נאלא, which is interpreted as "asthma" (Jastrow, *s. v.*). Foulness of breath was cause for divorce, Krauss *Talm. Enc.* i, 256. Cf. the בר ניפלה of 29: 7, which is found in the same passage from *Bekoroth.*

10. בתקלא דקריה: see pp. 52, 84.

11. משכבין: Af.; cf. English "lay a ghost."

אסרה דמיסבינותא: cf. the Rabbinic דמזוני א׳, "genius of nourishment," and see pp. 79, n. 70, and 86, n. 112.

No. 17 (CBS 2922)

דין יומא מכל יומא שני ודרי (2) עלמא אנה כומיש בת מחלפתא שביקית (3) ופטרית
ותרכית יתיכי אנתי לילתא לילית דברא (4) שלניתא וחטיפתא אנה תלתיכין ארבעתיכין
חמישתיכין (5) ערטיל שלחתין ולא לבישתין סתיר סעריכין מיעל גביכין (6) שמיע
עליכין דאימכין פלחן שמה ואביכין לחדד לילתה שמעו ופקו ולא תסיסון (7) לא לכמיש
בת מחלפתא בביתה פק אתין כְּל מן ביתה ומן דירתה ומן כלתא ומארתשריה (8) בנה
גדרת עליכין בשמתא דשלח עליכין יהושע בן פרוחיה אומיתי עליכין ביקרא דאביכין
(9) וביקרא דאימכין וסיב לכין גיטיכין ופיטריכין גיטכי ופיטוּרכִי דאת שלחתן בשמתא
דשלח (10) עליכין יהושע בן פרחיה דהכדין אמר לכא יהושע בן פרחיה גיטה אתא לכא
מעבר ימא אישתכח כתיב דאימיכין (11) פלחן שמה ואבכין פלחדד לילתא פמטו ופקו
ולא תסיסון לה לכומיש בת מחלפתא לא בביתה ולא בדירתה אסרית (12) וחתמית
בעיזקתא דאל שדי ובעיזקתא דיהושע בן פרוחיה אסיא אסותא ופטרתא מן שמיא
לאבא ול וליזדיד ולהוניק בני כומיש (13) בטילן ומבטלן כל מבכלתא דפירקין להון בשמתא
להון אמן אמן סלה

Translation

This day above any day, years and generations of (2) the world, I Kômêš bath Maḥlaphta have divorced (3) separated, dismissed thee, thou Lilith, Lilith of the Desert, (4) Hag and Ghûl. The three of you, the four of you, the five of you, (5) naked are ye sent forth, nor are ye clad, with your hair dishevelled behind your backs. (6) It is announced to you, whose mother is Palḥan and whose father (Pe)laḥdad, ye Liliths: Hear and go forth and do not trouble (7) Kômêš b. M. in her house. Go ye forth altogether from her house and her dwelling and from Kallethâ and Artašria (8) her children. I have warded against you with the curse which Joshua bar Perôhiâ (*sic*) sent against you. I adjure you by the honor (name) of your father (9) and by the honor of your mother, and take your divorces and separations, thy divorce and thy separation, in the ban which is sent (10) against you by Joshua b. Peraḥia, for so has spoken to thee Joshua b. P.: A divorce has come to thee from across the sea. There is found written (in it), ye whose mother is (11) Palḥan and whose father

Pelaḥdad, ye Liliths: And now flee and go forth and do not trouble Kômêš b. M. in her house and her dwelling.

I bind (12) and I seal with the seal of El Shaddai and with the seal of Joshua b. Peraḥia the healer, healing and release from Heaven for Abâ and Yazdid and Hônîk sons of Kômêš. Thwarted and frustrated are all Injurers, whom we have removed by the ban upon them. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

A charm effected by a woman for herself and her children, who appear in two different groups, in the name of Joshua b. Peraḥia. It is an abbreviated and often incorrect replica of No. 8.

1. For the corrupted formula, cf. 6: 5 and see p. 55. The full form appears in no. 16020 (unpublished) "this day out of all days. I Honik," etc.

2. כומיש, l. 7 כמיש: the name obscure; cf. Κομοσαρνη, Justi, p. 165.

מחלפתא: for this name, frequent in these bowls, and its equivalents, see Nöldeke, *Encyc. Bib., s. v.* "Names," § 62.

שביקית: Peal, the following verbs Pael.

3. For the singular and plural number, see to 8: 2. The word lilith is spelt badly. For the לי דברא cf. 29: 7, and see p. 78; the parallel has לילי דיכרא.

5. The correct grammatical forms are found in 8: 3; the lilith names following are also mangled.

6. תסיסון: Afel of נסס.

7. כלתא, i. e. "bride"; cf. the Babylonian name Ina-ekur-kallatu, cited to me by Prof. Clay.

ארתשריה: a form of Artachšathra, and cf. Αρτασηριος, Justi, p. 35.

8. פרוחיה: so l. 12, but the correct spelling in l. 10; probably assimilation to Persian *farruch.*

For "glory" = "name," see on 8: 8, and n. b. the equivalent πατέρων δόξαι, *Wisdom,* 14: 24.

9. סיב: f. pl. impr. of נסב; but שמעו in l. 6. The following דאת שלחתן is a perversion.

10. לכא = ליכי.

11. פמטו = מוטו, cf. פק, l. 7, *plus* conjunction פ; for another instance see Glossary; probably a dialectic survival. פ appears in the Senjirli inscriptions and the Elephantine papyri.

12. אסיא: the same title in 34: 12.

פטרתא: formation from Pael, = Rabbinic פטורא.

אבא: frequent Talmudic name, *Seder ha-Doroth,* ii, 3-18.

יזדיד: probably error for יזדד, see 7: 3.

13. פירקין: Pael, 1st pers. plural.

No. 18 (CBS 8695)

ברחמי שמיא אסוּתא [לנפשא ו]לביתא דאפרה בר אִיהי וכל (2) שום דאית ליה דיתקימון [ליה בנין] מן איצפנדוי איתתה ויחון (3) ויתקימון ולא יגע בהון כל מזיק [בהדין] עלמא בשום אהיה אשר אהיה (4) אל איסור בנדנא מלכא מלכיהון דשיד[י ודיוי ושליטא] רבא דליליתא אשבעית (5) עליכי בחלבס לילִיתא בת ברתה דזרני לי[ליתא דיתבא] על איסקופת באבה דא (6) ודאביא ... ודמחיא וטרפא וחנקא ואכלא דירקי ו[דירקתא] ... מיצה מימי ציתא אשבעית (7) עליכי דתימחין בטרפס לילביכי ובמורניתא דסק . . . [גבר]א דְהִוְ שליט על שידי ועל דיוי ועל (8) פתכרי ול ועל לילִיתא הא כתבית לכין גיטא והפטרית ית[כין כמא כתב]ין שידי גיטא לנשיהון ותוב (9) לא הדרין עליהין שקול גיטיכין וקביל מומתכין וקרחו וע[ריקו מן בי]תא הדין דאפרא בר א[יהי] ולא תיתחזין (10) ליה עוד לא לה לאיצפנדוי איתתיה ולא תיגעון ולא תיקר[בון להון ולבנין וג'] דאית להון לא בחילמה דליליה (11) ולא בחילמה דיממה בשום . מתחמן יאבגביג דיד טדטי . . . ב[עיזקתא דציר וגליף עלה שם מ]פורש מן יומי עלמא (12) שישת ימי בראשית אמן אמן סלה הללויה

Commentary

This inscription is yet another duplicate to the three collated under No. 11. It is badly written and mutilated, and would be in large part unintelligible without the other texts. It presents little that is new and a translation is not necessary.

1. The name of Ephrah's father is uncertain. From what appears here, it may be איהי; cf. בראיהי, in *Seder ha-Doroth* ii, 47. In l. 9 it looks like איי, i. e. *Ayê?* But the strokes may be for abbreviation.

2. A prayer for offspring is here expressed.— איצפנדוי: hypocoristicon for איצפנדרמיד, see 26: 4.

5. בחלבס: again this name differs; but the tradition of the granddam's name is accurate.

באבה דא: i. e. דאפרה.

6. דאביה: ppl. of דבא.

דירקי: if not an error, this is a further development of a word with a history: *daḳdaḳ* = *dardaḳ* = *daraḳ*.

מיצה מימי ציתא: the probable reading. ציתא is biblical. The dirty habits of these foul demons appear in the Babylonian magic; they are compared to pariah dogs and are exorcised by the spirit of foul streets, see *Utukki* series, B, 46; cf. v. col. 5. l. 21.

8. הפטרית: for הא פ׳.

9. קרחו: if we read so, we may compare the magic formula in *Pesaḥ.* 110a, קרח קרחייבי (see to 1: 6). The verb = ערק, by transposition, common especially in Mandaic. Lidzbarski in his parallel (see to No. 11) reads קדא and translates "spring up"; but read there קרא = קרח.

No. 19 (CBS 16018)

בישמך מרי אסואתא אסיא רבא (2) דרחמי אסירא וחיתמא ומחתמא כְּוֹלא (3) קומתיה
ובית מישכניה דהדין משרשיה דמיתקרי (4) דהבאי בר מחלפתא בשיבעא איסרין דילא
מישתרין ובתמניה חתמין (5) דילא מיתברין בשמיך מריא איבול מלכא רבא דאלהי
ובשמיך מרתין איבולית (6) מלכתא רבתא דאיסתראתא ובשום טלסְבוּנִי מריא רבא
דבגדני ובשום סחנודמוך (7) ובשום איבול בר פלג ובשום אנגרום ובשום מריא מלילא
ומרגלא וארמסא ובשום אזפא ועלים (8) ובשום נקדרום מרי בוניוב . . ואתא ובשום
סרפיאל מרי דינא ורימזא ובשום שיתין אלהי דיכרי (9) ותמני איסתראתא ניקבאתא
ובשום ארדיסבא סבתא קשישא קשיש מין כנואתיה ובשום אנד מריא רבא דמית. . . .
(10) ואניזקי רמין לעיל פרזלא ונחשא ומתקנא ליה סיליתיה סיליתא דאברא ושבעא
כומרי רמי דבגדנא ובשום בגדנא בר חבאל (11) וסופרזיא . . .ן ועלימון ובשום פלניני
ומנדינסן ומנירנש נג . . . ל ובשום אירס בר חנם ובשום אברכים ובשום אגזריאל
דרחמי לא אית ליה (12) ובשום ארזן וכר.ן רום ברום ברום דעלתרום ובשום
לאריאל שדר שקול לשליטא רבא דקדמוהי ובשום ובשום מריא איבול (13) מלאבה
רבא דזעקי ובשום אילהא גיברא ומריא רבא דבגדני ובשום אריון בר זנד אתון אסירי
וחליצי וזריזי על כל שידי דיוי וסטני בישי איסרא (14) וכסא הדין שרירא וחתמיה
קיימי עליהון דאינש מין איסוריה לא נפיק ומן תחות ידוהי לא שיר בישמיהון דהלין
איסרי ניתסר תמן שידא ודנחיש ולילית בישתא (15) דאית בפגריה [דה]דין משרשיה
דמיתקרי דהבאי בר מחלפתא באיסרין בארעה ובחיתמין בשמיא תוב אסירין באסרא
וחתימין בתנינא בר מין פגריה דהדין משרשיה (16) דמיתקרי דהבאי בר מחלפתא אמן
תוב אסירי שידא ודיוא ודנחיש וחומרתא ופתכרא דאית על פגריה דהדין משרשיה
דמיתקרי דהבי בר מחלפתא באיבול וחתים (17) באיבולית תוב אסיר בשינם ומנא
וחתים בנורא תוב אסיר באלהי גברי וחתימין באריון בר זנד תוב אסיר בעיזקת בית
חנון וחתימין במכילא רבא דזעזא תוב אסירין באלהא שרירא וחתימין בשליטא רבא
(18) דקדמוהי בר מין פגריה דהדין משרשיה דמיתקרי דהבאי בר מחלפתא בשום
פטרגינוס אוקינוס שונקא קוסא קפא אזזיאל דריססק ופום ובשים ברקפת . . . סרבתיה
לילבי מיתדבך ובשום א.כא עלינא (19) דעלם אלהי באידכור יתון עילך מלואשיה
דהדין משרשיה דמיתקרי דהבאי בר מחלפתא ניתחתם מין ב.תא דראשיה ועדמא טורפת
ריגליה בתיבי סוט לבא לא ניהון ולהדין ביתא דמשרשיה (20) דמיתקרי דהבא
בר מחלפתא לא ניעלון ולא ניקרבון ליה ולא ניתחזון ביה לא בליליה ולא ביממא מין
יומא דנן ולעלם

TRANSLATION

In thy name, O Lord of salvations, the great Saviour (2) of love.

Charmed and sealed and countersealed is the whole (3) person and the bedchamber of this Mešaršiâ, surnamed (4) Goldsmith, bar Maḥlaphtâ, with the seven spells which may not be loosed, and with the eight seals (5) which may not be broken.

In thy name, lord Ibbôl, the great king of the Bagdâni; and in thy name, our lady Ibbôleth, (6) the great queen of the goddesses (she-demons?), and in the name of Ṭalasbôgî the great lord of the Bagdâni; and in the name of Sahnudmuk; (7) and in the name of Ibbôl son of Palag; and in the name of Angarôs; and in the name of the Lord, the Word and Leader and Armasa (Hermes); and in the name of Azpâ and 'Alîm; (8) and in the name of Naḳderôs the lord of ...; and in the name of Seraphiel, lord of judgment and of (divine) beck; and in the name of the 60 male gods (9) and the 80 female goddesses; and in the name of Ardîsaba (*or* Ardî) the most ancient of his colleagues; and in the name of Anad the great lord (10) cast above (him) iron and bronze, and fastened to him fetters (?) of lead and the 70 exalted priests of Bagdânâ; and in the name of Bagdânâ son of Habâl (destruction). (11) ...; and in the name of Palnînî and Mandinsan and Menirnaš ...; and in the name of Iras son of Hanas; and in the name of Abrakîs (Abraxas); and in the name of Agzariel, who is without compassion; (12) and in the name of Arzan and ..., *rôs berôs delterôs;* and in the name ... to Ariel he sent a message: "Lift up" (?), ... to the great Ruler before him; and in the name of ...; and in the name of lord Ibbôl (13) the great angel of the Blast-demons, and in the name of the great God and the great Lord of the Bagdâni; in the name of Ariôn son of Zand: Ye are charmed and armed and equipped.

Against all Demons, Devils and evil Satans, this charm (14) and bowl is sure and its seals established against them, from whose charm none ever goes forth and from whose control none sallies forth.

In the name of these charms are bound there Demon and Danḥiš and the evil Lilith (15) which are in the body of this Mešaršiâ, surnamed Goldsmith, b. M., by charms in earth and by seals in heaven.

Again, (ye are) charmed with a charm and sealed a second time away from the body of this Mešaršiâ, (16) etc., Amen.

Again, charmed are the Demon and Devil and Danḥiš and Amulet-spirit and Idol-spirit, which are upon the body of this Mešaršia, etc., by Ibbôl, (17) and sealed by Ibbôleth.

Again, charmed by Šînas and Manâ, and sealed by fire.

Again, charmed by the great gods and sealed by Ariôn son of Zand.

Again, charmed by the seal of the family of Ḥanûn, and sealed by the great ... of Zeüza (Zeus).

Again, charmed by the true God, and sealed by the great Ruler (18) who is before him, away from the body of this Mešaršiâ, etc.

In the name of Paṭragenôs, Okînoš (Okeanos), Šunḳâ, Ḳôsâ, Kapâ, Azaziel (19) his constellation (?), that this Mešaršiâ, etc., be sealed from the top (?) of his head to the toes of his feet they shall not be, nor this house of Mešaršiâ, (20) etc., shall they enter nor approach, nor appear therein, neither by night nor by day, from this day and forever.

Commentary

A charm made out for a certain man whose body is infested with evil spirits; with great elaboration of incantations they are exorcised from him and his house. The inscription is thoroughly pagan, and is interesting because of its invocation, for over half its length, of an extensive list of deities. Cf. a similar long list in Wünsch, *Ant. Fluchtafeln,* no. 4. Unfortunately by reason of the coarseness of the script and its general illegibility, most of these names are obscure. Some of them are definitely Greek,—Zeus, Protogonos, Okeanos, and perhaps the Aeons, male and female, may be made out; several others are of Greek formation. Others again are of Persian origin, and some are purely charm-words, "mystical" names. Some forgotten cult may have given certain of the names; notice the reference to the 70 priests of Bagdana.

2. חיתמא: error for חתימא.

3. קומתיה: the word = "stature," then, as here, "body," as is shown by the phrase, in a similar connection, in bowls published by Schwab (E)

and Stübe (ll. 56, 64): the demon depart, etc., from the 248 הדמי קומתיה of such a one (the word is not recognized by either editor). The same word occurs in the interesting magical passage in *Eze.*, 13: 18.

משרשיה: also in Schwab, G; a frequent Talmudic name (see *Sefer ha-Doroth,* ii, p. 276).

4. דהבאי: this surname appears as a proper name in *Ḥagiga* 2a.

"Seven spells eight seals": for this cumulative expression, cf. Mica 5: 4; see 5: 2.

5. בשמיך: cf. 28: 1.

איבול: also below, ll. 7, 16. In l. 7 he is בר פלג, and his consort איבולית is "our lady." Professor Clay has cited to me a divine name Ubbulti appearing in a Cassite tablet, in the name *Ubbulti-lišir.* אובול might also be read, and I am inclined to make the word = Syriac *ubbâlâ,* "generation," etc., and so Αἰων. For a discussion of Aeon as supreme deity, god of time, etc., see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 269 ff. The Aeons appears in the magical texts, e. g. Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 140, l. 51; 192, l. 21; 203, l. 18. The syzygies of Aeons were male and female—cf. the names in Origen's list at the beginning of his work *Adv. haer.,* and איבולית would be a formation to express the female Aeon. Derivation from Apollo also suggests itself, but the feminine is not thereby explained.

6. בגדני: Comparing what precedes, the word means some class of deities or demons. In l. 13 בגדנא is a divine name, = the demon in 11: 5 (*q. v.*). It is then a word like אלהא, etc., which can be used individually or generically. It evidently contains the Indo-European element *bâga,* "god." It is difficult to decide whether Bagdana is a propitious or maleficent demon (as in No. 11); in the latter case he is charmed to work the good of the sorcerer's client, as in the Greek incantations, e. g. Hekate. In W. T. Ellis's Syriac text (see § 2) appears שמחיזא מריא בגדאנא, "Šamhiza the lord Bagdana," or "the lord god"? The spelling gives the vocalization of the penultimate vowel. For Š. cf. the Enochian Samaeza.

7. אנגרום: the ending ום- in this and other names recalls Greek formations. May this word = ἄγγελος ?

מלילא: in Syriac, "logical," etc., and used nominally = *τὸ λογικόν*. It is here associated with ארמסא, both being names of a potency; the passage is parallel to 2: 2, *q. v.*

מרנלא: if the reading is correct, the Rabbinic רגל, Afel, may give the interpretation,—"leader," which would be a fitting epithet of Armasa-Hermes, "the shepherd" *par excellence*. Cf. the idea in the late Hellenistic religion of a deity, especially Hermes, as a guide, *ἡγέμων*, of souls; see Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, n. 63 p. 253. It may be noticed that מ׳ is used in the Talmud of a "traditional word or saying" (Jastrow), i. e. = *logos?*

8. סרפיאל: also 14: 8. In his epithet, רימזא appears to be used, as in the Syriac, of the divine nod or intimation, i. e. "command."

9. ארדיסבא: or the name is to be read ארדי, followed by סבא סבתא קשישא קשיש; why the fem. סבתא?

10. In this and the following line most of the words can be read, but in consequence of the failure of the context the text defies interpretation. The three metals may be referred to as having magical properties, and this may give the clue to סיליתא דאברא (סיליתיה written first erroneously). Comparing the Mandaic text in 39: 5, בישושלאתא דאבארא (עסירא), the equation suggests that our סיליתא = "chains"; possibly סילתא "basket," and here used of a metal cage.

בר חבאל: = "Son of destruction"?; cf. בר חנס, l. 11, בר זנד l. 13; these deities are given a parentage like איבול, l. 7. Possibly חנס is הנס, the verb used in the Nerab inscriptions, and so = חבאל.

11. אירס:=Ἔρως, or Ἄρης?—אברכים: cf. 7: 9.

אנזריאל: גזריאל is found in Schwab, *Vocabulaire*. Is אכזריאל "God's cruel one," meant?

12. The accumulation of words in *ros* is a charm formula; see p. 61.

13. מלאבא = מלכה, l. 5.— זעקי: the זיקי with Mandaic spelling.

אריון בר זנד: found also in 34: 8, which determines the reading here.

אתון וגי: the plural is problematic, as there is but one client to this charm; it may have been used inadvertently. חליצי is not Aramaic in its present sense.

14. דנחיש: this obscure demon appears again in l. 16; it is evidently the דניש listed with the planets in Libzbarski's Mandaic amulet in the de Vogüé *Florilegium,* l. 251.

17. שינאם: cf. the Mandaic סיניאוים, name of an angel, Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris,* i, 104, n. 2.

זעוא: Zeus, = Syriac זו, in Jacob of Sarug (Martin, *ZDMG,* xxix, 110, l. 50), otherwise זיוס and זום.

מנא = the Mandaic genius Mana? See Norberg, *Onom.* 96.

בית חנון: the family or school of some magician like that of Joshua b. Perahia, see p. 46.

18. אוקינוס = Ὠκεανός, the parent deity in magical theosophy (cf. Ea in the Babylonian); see index of Dieterich, *Abraxas.* The preceding name recalls Protogonos who appears with Aeon as son of Kolpia and Baau in Sanchuniathon's cosmic genealogy, Eusebius, *Praep. ev.,* i, 10.

19. לילבי: cf. 11: 7. מלואשיה: an astrological reference?

מין ... טורפת ריגליה: the same phrase in Pognon B, except that the word זימתא, "hair," appears there.

No. 20 (CBS 16023)

טרדי בת אוני } בְּשֵׁם
(2) הרמסדר טרדי } אאאאאא אסירי וחתימי (3) שידא ודיוא וסטאנא ולטאנא וללֵיאתא
ב[ישאתא] (4) דמתחזא באלליא ומתז ביממי ודמיחזי טרדי בת (5) [בש]ום
גבריאל מיכיאל ורופיאל אמן אמן אמן סאלה הלליה כפי אאאאאא

Translation

Ṭardi bath Onî (2) Hormisdar Ṭardi. In the name of AAAAAA, exorcised and sealed (3) are the Demon and the Devil and the Satan and the Curse-spirit and the evil Liliths (4) which appear by night and appear by day, and appear (to) Ṭardî bath [Onî, etc.]. (5) In the name of Gabriel, Michael, and Rophiel. Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Hallelia, Selah. According to AAAAAA.

Commentary

A charm against ghosts. The interest of this bowl lies in the figure decorating the center. It represents a demon with arms and legs manacled. On either side of the figures is an enclosed space, that on the figure's right hand bearing the inscription אסורא, that on its left, רשוא, i. e. prohibition and permission. In the lower part of the body on the former side is inscribed the names of the sorcerer's client. The pictures thus graphically presents the idea that the demon has no power over the lady in question. The picture is of better quality than the inscription, which is very illiterate. The spelling is most careless.

1. The connection of the proper names is uncertain, as also the character of the names themselves. For הרמסדר I might compare the Pahlavi Ormazdyâr, Justi, p. 10a.

2. For the repeated א, see p. 60.

3. לטאנא: probably an artificial form; cf. שידנא, טלנא, סטנא.

4. מיתחזא has Mandaic fem. pl. ending.—In באלליא the first א has a point over it—to mark error? cf. the Massoretic Niḳḳudim.

5. רופיאל: the first vowel as in *Enoch* and in Mandaic, representing the Hebrew active ppl., parallel to the equivalent Aramaic form in *Raphael.*

הללית: for similar perversions see 24: 4, 31: 8, 32: 12; cf. *αλληλον* in the Paris Magical Papyrus, l. 3032, and הללו ליה in a Jewish charm, *JAOS*, 1911, 274.

No. 21 (CBS 16054)	No. 22 (CBS 16006)	No. 23 (CBS 16090)
(1) חתים ומח[ת]ם ביתה	(1) חתים ומחתם ביתה	(1) חתים ומחת[א]ם ביתה
ואיסקופתה דודי בתה	ואיסקופתה דדודי בת	ואיסקופתה דודי בת
אחת מן כל פגעין	אחת מן כל פגעין	אחת מן כל פגעין
בישי מן כ[ל ר]וחין	בישין מן כל רוחין	בישין ומן כל רוחין
(2) בישין ומ[ן] מבכלתא	(2) בישין ומן מבכלתא	(2) בישין ומן מבכלתא
ומן לליתא ומן כל נזקין	ומן ליליתא ומכל נזקין	ומן ליליתא ומן כל נזקא ומזקא
דלא תקרבון לה לביתה	דלא תקרבון לה לביתה	דלא תקרבון לה לביתה
ולאיסקו[פתה] דודי	ולאיסקופתה (3) דודי	ולאיסקופתה (3) דודי
(3) בת אחת דיחתים	בת אחת דיחתים	בת אחת דיחתימי
ביתלתה עזקין ומחתם	ביתלתה עיזקין ומ[חתם	ביתלתה עיזקין ומחתם
בשבעה חתמין	ב]שבעה חתמין	בשבעה חתמין
ומן כל פגעין בישין ומן	מן כל מין ליליתא ומן	מבכלתא ומן כל נזקין
כל רוחין (4) [בישין] ומן	(4) נזקין	(4) ומנזקין
מבכלתא		
	דלא תקרבון לה לביתה	דלא תקרבון לה לביתה
	ולאיסקופתה דדו[די]	ולאיסקופתה דודי
	[בת אחת]	בת אחת
	ומן כל רוחין בישין [ומן]	
	כל נזקין בישין (5) מן יומה	
	דינן ולעל[ם	
אמן סלה	אמן א]מן סלה	אמן אמן סלה

Translation of No. 22

Sealed and countersealed are the house and threshold of Dôdî bath Aḥath from all evil Plagues, from all evil Spirits, (2) and from the Tormentors, and from the Liliths, and from all Injurers, that ye approach not to her, to the house and threshold of (3) Dôdî b. A., which is sealed with three signets and countersealed with seven seals from every kind of

Lilith and from all (4) Injurers, that ye approach not to her, to the house and threshold of Dôdî [b. A.], and from all evil Spirits and from all evil Injurers, (5) from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

Three identical bowls, out of the four which were deposited at the corners of the charmed house; see § 8. There are slight variations in the inscriptions; in No. *22* the writer found more room and made a longer inscription. All three are most roughly and illegibly written; the characters ו, ז, י, נ are indistinguishable, and פ has a peculiar form. The word transliterated דינן, *22*: 5, is written in a clumsy Syriac script.

An interesting grammatical peculiarity is the omission of ד after a genitive with the personal suffix. This appears at the beginning of l. 3 in No. *22*, and throughout, in the same combination, in the other two. This might be taken for haplography before דודי; but the same phenomenon appears in the Mandaic bowls published below; see the Introduction, § 5 B.

For the injunction in l. 4 not to approach, cf. the like prohibition in a late Greek charm (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 294): *τοῦ μὴ ἀδικῆσαι ἢ βλάψαι ἢ προσεγγίσαι, κ. τ. λ.*; cf. also a Syriac charm of Gollancz's, p. 93.

No. 24 (CBS 2926)

אסו[תא] מן שמיא תהי לה להנדו בת מחלפתא (2) דתיתסי ברחמי שמיא מן אשיתא ומן אזיתא מן אונא (3) אמן אמן סאלה אסותא מן שמיא תהי לה לקאקי בת מחלפתא . . . (4) דיתבטל מינה חלמי שגושי ורוחא בישת וסטאני בישי אמן אמן סאלה הללוי אסותא (5) לזרנכש בת . מחלפת דתיתסי ברחמי שמיא לזרנכש ותאחי ברהּ בְּסַבְעַ דר (6) אמן אמן סאלה נהיא גרר אגרייה

Translation

Salvation from Heaven be for Hindû bath Maḥlaphta, (2) that she be saved by the love of Heaven from Fever (?) and from Sweating, from (?) (3) Amen, Selah.

Salvation from Heaven be for Kâkî bath Maḥlaphta (4) that there cease from her disturbing Dreams and the evil Spirit and evil Satans. Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallelui.

Salvation (5) for Zarinkaš bath Maḥlaphta, that she be saved by the love of Heaven, to wit Zarinkaš, that she bring to the birth her child Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

A charm for three daughters of a certain woman, made out in their names severally and for specific maladies. The misspellings are numerous.

1. הנדו: the same name appears in 40: 14; it is hypocoristic of הנדויתא 38: 3, i. e. "Indian woman."

2. אשיתא is doubtless fever, in neo-Syriac = malarial fever, cf. the general name for fever with the Jews, אשתא (Preuss, *Bib.-talm. Med.*,, 184). and n. b. the disease *ašû* in Assyrian, Küchler, *Beiträge*, 131, 197. For the next word the root אזא suggests a sweating disease. אונא may be another kind of fever. In general see above, p. 93 f.

3. קאקי: also in Hyvernat's bowl. The name occurs as that of an Egyptian sorceress in a Syriac biography of Rabban Hormizd (c. 600), cited by Budge in his edition of *The Book of Governors,* i, p. clxiv. Our word is probably the Syriac *ḳâḳâ,* "pelican," while the Egyptian name may represent *κακή* (for a similar adoption of this Greek word, see Payne Smith, col. 3709).

4. For the "disturbing dreams," see p. 82.

5. Zarinkaš: cited by Justi, p. 382.

No. 25 (CBS 16009)

[אם]ותא מן שמיה לגורוי בר טאטי ולאחת בת דודא איתתיה דיוחֵ מיניהון בדי[רתהון
שידי ודי]וי ברחמי דישמיה מי בכין דמיתין להון דיחיו להון בכין ויקרבון (2) ומיתין
אישתכחון מן קודם אילי ניסתרתו ואלי ניסתרי בְשום אתה ש מִיס ומרכבתך
עַל כל האפנִים שלח להום להדרבדו בר (3) .ל ריביהון דכל[הון] הא דיותמו
שים בפומי וכל דע רין. הון בריך אתה יהוה על דיבריה שום בשום (4) יופיאל
שמך יחיאל קרי לך שסנגיאל יהוה וכן יה . . . שמהת . . [אר]מסה מיטטרון יה בשום
טיגין (5) טריגים בלבִיס שבגם שדרפס אילה אינון מלאביה דיממטין לאסותא [לכל]
בְּנֵי אינשא אינון (6) יתֵון ויפקון באסותא דהדין בית[ה] וקינינה ודאיתתיה ודיב[נה]
ודבנתה ודכל אינשי בביתיה (7) להדין גורוי בר טאטי מן יומא דין ולגליל עלם אמן אמן
סלה הללויה

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for Gurôi bar Ṭâṭî and for Aḥath bath Dôdâ his wife, that there vanish from them in their dw[elling the Demons and Dev]ils by the mercy of Heaven. Whoever here has dead, who shall become alive to them here, and shall approach (2) and are found to be (actually) dead—from these you are kept and these are kept (from you). In the name: Thou- send (to) them, Hadarbadû bar (3) .. the contentions of them all. Behold, ... Blessed art thou, YHWH on account of the name of (4) Yophiel thy name, Yehiel they call thee, Šasangiel, YHWH, and so names [Ar]masa Metatron Yah, in the name of Tigin, Trigis, Balbis, Šabgas, Šadrapas. These are the angels who bring salvation to all the children of men. They (6) will come and go forth with the salvation of this house and property and dwelling of his, and of his sons and daughters and all the people in his house—(7) of this Gurôi b. Ṭ. from this day even for the sphere of eternity. Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluia.

Commentary

The inscription is of interest because it is directed against the apparition of family ghosts. In this respect it is to be compared with No. 39 and Wohlstein's bowl, no. 2417; see above p. 82.

1. גורוי: identified by Justi, p. 356, as a new-Persian form of *Warôê*. The *Seder ha-Doroth* lists a number of Talmudic persons named גוריא and גורין (ii, 89); also a famous Syriac martyr Gurias is recorded. Apart from the Persian hypocoristic ending, the word could be explained from the Semitic (גוריא, Syriac, "whelp"). Cf. also the Palmyrene גורא, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 249.

טאטי: Ṭaṭâ is a feminine name found in Syriac, in Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* and Wright's *Catalogue of the British Museum;* see Payne Smith, col. 1456. Cf. תאתא, 39: 8.

2. אילי, אלי, and אילה l. 5: the Aramaic pronoun with loss of ן, cf. similar cases cited to 8: 2,—if not a Hebraism.

ניסתרתי, ניסתרתו: Hebrew Nifals with Aramaic inflection.

שלח להום להדרבדו: the idea apparently is that a message be sent to the dead to cause them to cease their contentions (ריבהון) with the living, then one of these departed spirits is named. The name is not recognizable as a proper name, and evidently, as in Wohlstein's bowl, referred to above, it is a fancy name. (There we have such names as *Yodid, Muth, Dabti, Ith.*)

4. יופיאל: One of the six angels in Targ. Jer. to *Dt.* 34: 6, along with Metatron, and, in Schwab, *Vocab.,* 145, a companion of M. and prince of the Law. יופי is a Talmudic surrogate for יהוה, see Blau, *Zauberwesen,* 131.

יחיאל or יהואל: cf. יהואל, Schwab, p. 141. The following name is unknown. These angels are invoked as phases or names of Deity; cf. p. 58.

Hermes-Metatron: for the identification, see to 2: 2; here identified with Yah.

5. These magical words are mystical names of the angels; see p. 97. They are dominated by sibilant terminations for which see p. 60.

מלאכיה: Mandaic plural spelling.

6. יתון = יאתון.

7. גליל עלם: cf. Syriac גיגל זבנא, שנתא; also of a cycle.

No. 26 (CBS 3997)

שמע ישראל ייי אלהינו ייי אחד על פי ייי יחנו ועל פי ייי יסעו (2) ואת משמרת
ייי שמרו על פי ייי בד משה ויאמר ייי אל הסטן יגער ייי (3) בך הסטן יגער ייי בך
הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אוד מוצל מאש תוב אסירת ואחידת אנתי (4) רוחא בישתא
ולילית תקיפתא לא תיתחזן להון לבריכיהביה בר מאמי והדא איצפנדרמיד בת ה..דורא
(5) לא בימם ולא בלילה ולא בכל רמש וצפר ולא בכל שעתה ושעתה ולא בכל עידיא
עידיא אילהין זעי (6) מן קדמיהון ושקולי גיטכי ופיטורכי וספר תירוככי וא . . . יתכי
כמא דכתבין שידין גיטין לינשיהון ותוב לא הדרין (7) דוביב אימכם דובי כירא
לא אישתי א.ביזנא אישה ואפיפתיה מיבין שד (8) פשיטנא
ותיהה כיום היולרה ושמתיה כ בצמא לא א אירחים בוכ.י

Translation

"Hear, Israel: YYYY our God is one YYYY." "According to the mouth of YYYY they encamped, and according to the mouth of YYYY Num 9:23
they marched (2). The observance of YYYY they observed according to the word of YHWH through Moses." "And YYYY said to Satan: YYYY rebuke (3) thee, Satan, YYYY rebuke thee, who chose Jerusalem. Zech 3:2
Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?"

Again, bound and held art thou, (4) evil Spirit, and mighty Lilith, that thou appear not to Berîk-Yahbêh bar Mâmê and this Ispandarmêd bath H..dôrâ, (5) neither by day nor by night, nor at any evening or morning, nor at any time whatsoever, nor at any seasons whatsoever. But flee (6) from their presence and take thy divorce and thy separation and thy writ of dismissal. [I have divorced] thee, [even as demons write] divorces for their wives and return not (to them). (7, 8)

Commentary

This charm, against the evil Lilith, is introduced by three quotations from the Scriptures. The first is the opening sentence of the *Shemá,* which still remains the contents of the Mezuzoth, or house phylacteries of the

Jews. The other two have occurred in previous texts; see 5: 5. Unfortunately the last two lines are too broken and obscure to be read. I have merely reproduced here the evident characters. In the segments of the circle at the bottom of the bowl appear words, some of which are forms of the divine Names יה, יהו, איאה; also אילור (?) and יאיהו (?)

1. יויי: for יהוה. Cf. the common scribal abbreviation, יי or ייי; also such forms as יוי and ויו, in Schwab O.

בד משה: for ביד, as in No. 5.

3. תוב: cf. 2: 1.

4. בריכיהביה: there is no doubt as to the reading of this name and it is remarkable enough. The second and divine component of the name—which was an ordinary [ברכ[יה, [ברוכ[יה, or [בריכ[יה, has been expanded so as to give the awful pronunciation of the Ineffable Name. We cannot suppose that the name was thus ordinarily spelt or pronounced, but the scribe has taken it upon himself to give this interpretation (פירוש) of his client's name. Here then is a clear survival of the ancient magical signification and use of the personal name (cf. Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 159 ff.), as also of the pronunciation of the name itself. It may be retorted that יה—would hardly be used to represent *ê,* and that the original pronunciation was *Yahwè,* not—*é* (see Arnold's valuable discussion, *JBL,* xxiv, 152). The latter thesis is right, but I think that the tradition represented here connects with the Hellenistic magic, in which, among various forms, Ιαη occurs several times (Deissmann, *Bibelstudien,* 7),[1] although I have not found a case of Ιαβη. Further, in the Talmud (*Sanh.* 56a) יוסה appears as a surrogate for the Name, which Dietrich, *ZATW,* iv, 27, would vocalize as Yosê. Blau (*Zauberwesen,* 131) objects to *ê,* but adduces from the Mishna, *Sukk.* 45a, the surrogate יופי which he identifies with the Greek magical term ιωφη (citing Paris Pap. ll. 1896, 2746). This would be further proof for η in the current magical pronunciation. As for יה- = *-ê,* we have not only the masc. pron. suffix for a parallel but also the plural *-ê* represented in the same way in some of our texts, e. g. 9: 6, 12: 1, 25: 5, and also the proper name דדביה 31: 2.

[1] Also on an Abraxas gem, see *Dict. de l'archéologie chrétienne,* i, 141.

I can find no other interpretation of this unique name-form. A note upon it was published in the *Museum Journal* of the University, 1910 no. 2, which called forth some private criticisms from scholars (along with assents), but no better explanation has been offered. (Is there a possible explanation in the יהביה noticed to 7: 8?). In the first amulet in my paper "Some Early Amulets from Palestine," *JAOS*, 1911, *272*, line 16, יהביה is apparently to be read for the divine Name, a proof of western connections for the present form.

איצפנדרמיד: cf. Glossary B for other forms. The name occurs in Ellis 1, where it was first recognized by Levy, *ZDMG*, ix, 470, 486, its correct interpretation (as Spenta-Armaita, a daughter of Ahuramazda) being given by G. Hoffmann, "Auszüge aus syrischen Acten," *Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, 1880, 128; see also Justi, p. 308. For the mother's name Prof. Kent suggests to me comparison with Ἑρμόδωρος, see Fick, *Griech. Personennamen*, 112.

8. פישיטנא: cf. 2: 5.

No. 27 (CBS 16041)

בישמך מרי אסואתה (2) אסיא רבא דרחמי אזילנא אנא יזידאד (3) בר איזדנדוך בחילי דנפשי בקומתי גציצתא (4) דפרזלא קרקפתי דפרזלא בולה קומתי דנורא דביא ולבישנא (5) לבושא דארמסא דביא ומללא וחלינא במאן דיברא שמיא וארעא אזלית פגעית (6) בהון בסנאי בישי ובבעילדבבי מרירי אמרית להון דאם מידעם חטיתון ביה (7) ביתי אנא יזידאד בר איזדנדוך בי קשתא גאיבנא לכון. ובי יתרא פשיטנא לכון תוב מידעם חטיתון (8) ביה ביתה תוב אנא מירדוך בת באנא אשיפנא לכון באישפא דימא ובאישפא דליויתן תנינא תוב מידעם חטיתון (9) בידידי אנא יזיזדאד בר איזדנדוך מחיתנא עליכון שמתא גזירתא ואחרמתא דאחיתנא על חירמון טורא ועל ליויתן תנינא ועל סדום (10) ועל עמורה מיטול דלמיכבש דיוי אזילנא ורוחי בישאתא ולישן חומרי זידניאתה אנא יזידאד בר איזדנדוך אזלית פגעית בהון (11) בשידי בדיוי בליליאתא בישאתא בפתכרי זיכרי באיסתראתה ניקבאתה כד קימין סידרי סידרי מרפדי מרפדי . . . עליהון

Commentary

After the introductory appeal, "In thy name, O Lord of salvations," etc., the inscription for lines 2b-11 is practically identical with No. 2. This portion does not need translation and commentary. The remaining lines, 13-24, are so mutilated or obscure, that I can make out but few connected passages in them, and hence I do not present them.

There are a few slight differences between the parallel texts, this one being probably more correct. The most considerable variation in text is in l. 9, where the sorcerer says that *he* laid the ban upon Hermon; cf. my note to 2: 6. The same Yezîdâd bar Izdandûch and his wife Merdûch bath Banâi, appear in No. 7. There they are the subjects of the charm, here Yezîdâd operates magic in his own name. Cf. the mutual character of the charm in No. 2. In l. 8 the wife also takes up the exorcism.

No. 28 (CBS 2972)

בישמיך מרי שמיא וארעה מזמן כסא לישמיה דאנור . . דְ בר פרכוי דנישתיחן ונישתגר
ונישתבב (2) בתר אחת בת נבאזך אמין כיבשין עלמא לא איתכבישו אילא על . . .
וְשִׁכְבְּנְלֵיהּ דבר אינשא בליביה דוך (3) נסבין חִרְך וְאַחרוניאתא דקרי ענני שימשא
מטללן ונורייא כללהּ ינהו[ן] ורזי רחמתא דְפַרסתנון על ב. (4) היא
תיפרוסינון על הדאין [אנור. . .] בר פרכוי עד דנישתיחן ונישתבב בתר אחת [בת נ']..... .
ובי שוחאה וברזי רחמתא בדיל ד (5) לא פסקין מין ליביה וקיטרא.
דְוִכְרְנֵיהּ בשמיה דרחמיאל מלאכה ובשמה דדלִיבת עזיזתא אֵילהי מְרתהון דרזי
כולהון אמין אמין

Translation

In thy name, O Lord of heaven and earth. Appointed is this bowl to the account of Anûr ... bar Parkôi, that he be inflamed and kindled and burn (2) after Aḥath bath Nebâzak. Amen.

Everlasting presses which have only been pressed upon (?) a man in his heart. (3) Take *ḥrk*, and hot herbs (?) which they call sunwort (?), *mṭlln* and peppers them and the rites of love which thou (?) hast sprinkled upon (4) She shall sprinkle them upon this Anûr ... b. P. until that he be inflamed and burn after Aḥath b. N. and in lust and in the mysteries of love, in order that (5) take pieces from his heart and the charm his name (?). In the name of the angel Raḥmiel and in the name of Dlîbat the passionate, ... the gods, the lords of all the mysteries. Amen, Amen, ...

Commentary

A love-charm—such is the import of this sadly mutilated but interesting bowl. It belongs to the same class of magic as No. 13, but is more romantic, for there we find a charm for a childless, neglected wife, here one for a passionate woman to bring her lover to her side. For the use of a bowl for such a *defixio* see above p. 44. The first copyist was able to

read more than I can now, as, since it was in his hands, the bowl has been cracked and then repaired. The lacunae in the text are tantalizing.

So far as the text is legible, the charm which names the two parties adjures the passion of the beloved. Some praxis is described, a simulacrum is evidently used, for "his heart is to be torn in pieces," and on this image is to be scattered some kind of salad of hot herbs expressive of love's passion, while the beloved's name is to be formally pronounced.

Blau has collected the Talmudic material on philtres in his *Zauberwesen,* 24, 52, 158, 167; n. b. the recitation of Bible verses over the love-apple, p. 52, n. 2 (with literature). In the Old Testament we have mere references to this aphrodisiac (*Gen.* 30: 14 ff., *Cant.* 7: 14) without any note as to magical manipulation. For later Jewish use, see the numerous philtres prescribed in Thompson, "Folk Lore of Mossoul," *PSBA,* 1906-7.

But it is from the classical and Hellenistic field that we have most knowledge of this amatory magic, and the connections of the present text are found in that direction. Of course Theocritus's second Idyll comes to mind, in which the love-lorn maiden casts the various philtres into the fire with adjurations of Hecate. For this classical field I may refer to the monograph of O. Hirschfeld, *De incantamentis et devinctionibus amatoriis apud Graecos Romanosque* (Ratisbon, 1863); see p. 42 for aphrodisiac herbs; also see section 8 (p. 233) of Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius.*

In the magical papyri numerous erotic incantations are preserved, e. g. in the Paris Papyrus in Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften* hist.-phil. Class, xxxvi, l. 2622 ff., xli, p. 52, l. 976 ff.[1] But the most graceful and famous of these charms is that inscribed on a lead plate found at Hadrumetum, N. Africa,—buried in a necropolis, just as our bowl was buried in the earth. First edited by Maspero, it has been since frequently published: Wünsch, *CIA, App. continens defixionum tabellas,* p. xvii; Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae,* no. 271; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien,* 21, and *Bible Studies,* 271; Blau, *op. cit.* 96; Wünsch, *Ant. Fluchtafeln,* no. 5. It is Blau's merit to have specially pointed out the Jewish connection of this text. Now, between this Hellenistic charm and our bowl we find an almost literal

[1] I may add now F. Boll, "Griechischer Liebeszauber aus Aegypten auf zwei Bleitafeln," in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Heidelberg Academy, phil.-hist. Class, 1910, no. 2.

correspondence in the trinity of terms for the passion adjured in the lover. With our invocation that the man "be enflamed and kindled and burn after" the girl, compare the longing of the Greek maiden Domitiana that her lover come *ἐρῶντα μαινόμενον βασανιζόμενον*, or *ἐρῶντα μαινόμενον βασανιζόμενον*, or *ἐρ. βασ. ἀγρυπνοῦντα* —repetitions like those in our texts. With this probably technical formula compare the second of the charms cited above by Wessely: May X do naught until *ἐλθοῦσα πρός με τὸν δεῖνα πληροφοροῦσα ἀγαπῶσα στεργοῦσα εμέ, κ. τ. λ.* Also in our l. 4 there is an echo of Domitiana's wish that he come *ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ ἐρωτι καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ*, while the formula "to the name," l. 1, and the use of "heart," l. 2, indicate Greek connections.

How much Jewish, how much Grecian, the Hadrumetum tablet is, it is difficult to determine. Our text shows manifest ties with the love-magic of the Hellenistic world and is the eastern representative of the philtres of which the North African text is the most notable western example. The spirit of both these texts is Greek rather than Semitic; but the fame of Jewish magic appears to have made its solemn formulas eligible for the desires of passion. Our text, it is to be noticed, is not at all Jewish in religion, is of more simple original type than the African charm.

For the praxis of our text I may compare a Moorish love-charm cited by Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1908, p. 253: "A woman who wishes to gain the love of a man should procure the following materials from neighbors with whom she has never eaten: coriander, caraway, gum of terebinth, lime, cummin, verdegris, myrrh, some blood of an animal whose throat has been cut, and a piece of a broom hailing from a cemetery. On a dark night she is to go into the country with a lighted brazier and throw these different articles one after another into the fire speaking these words: O coriander, bring him mad! O caraway, bring him wandering without success! O mastic, raise in his heart anguish and tears! O white lime, make his heart wakeful in disquietude! O cummin, bring him possessed! O verdegris, kindle the fire of his heart! O myrrh, make him spend a frightful night! O blood of the victim, lead him panting! O cemetery broom, bring him to my side." Etc.

1. לישמיה = *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, and see Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 95 ff., and his definition of the phrase as indicating "die Zueignung an eine Person

unter irgend welchem Gebrauch ihres Namens" (p. 107, and at length, pp. 100-110). As he shows, the usage before us is not Semitic or even Septuagintal. Cf. also Böhmer, *Das biblische "Im Namen,"* 4.

נבאזך, אנור..ך : ?

2. כבשי עלמא: I translate the words without any certain sense. For the noun כ׳ see to 7: 1. If צלמא might be read, the reference could be to a moulded (כבש, "press") figure representing the lover. Below in l. 4 the space before the man's name may have contained "image of," or the like. The latter part of the line is most obscure. The "heart" (also l. 5) appears as the seat of sexual affection. This is a Greek usage, not Semitic (with the possible exception of the Hebrew phrase דבר על לב, used five times with a woman as the object). See Andry, *Le coeur,* 5, for the Greek idea of the heart as the amatory organ, p. 15 ff., for the late Semitic use. P. 17 he quotes a Spanish Arabic poet who speaks gallantly of being wounded to the heart, but the metaphor is that of a mortal wound.[2]

3. I translate the ppl. נסבין, as also פסקין l. 5, as imperatives; cf. Rabbinic and Syriac usage.

חרך וג׳: to this list of aphrodisiacs the clue is given by גורייא (יא- = pl. ending, as in Mandaic), which is the *piper candidus* (Payne Smith, col. 2303); its pungency was evidently regarded as possessing erotic power and symbolism. Then חרך, if the reading be correct, and אחרוניתא are to be explained in the same way from their roots, חרך, חרה, "burn." ענני שימשא doubtless lies in the same circle of ideas. May מטללן be mushrooms? Loew's *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* does not contain these words. The "rites of love" are the magical practices.

4. שיחאה: I compare Syriac שיחנותא (*sub* שוח). "boldness, lasciviousness"; the ending *â'â* for *âyâ?*

5. פסקין מין ליביה : פ׳ a noun, or better a ppl. like נסבין, l. 3. The phrase is simplest interpreted as a reference to the lady's slowly tearing to pieces the facsimile of her lover's heart, with the intent that he perish of love; cf. again Theocritus's second Idyll.

[2] Cf. the phrase quoted in Lane's *Dictionary,* 782: "she has overturned my heart and torn my midriff."

דוכרניה: the lover's name is to be pronounced. For the angel Raḥmiel see to No. 13.

דליבת : one of the Mandaic forms of Dilbat, a name of the Babylonian Ishtar, especially in her stellar capacity as Venus. For the Mandaic forms, see Brandt, *Mand. Schr.*, 45, 85; also in Hesychius as Δελεφατ, and in Bar Baḥlul as דלבת.[3] For this form, see Nöldeke,, *Mand. Gram.* § 25. For the Babylonian use see Jensen, *Kosmologie,* 18, and the latest discussion by Jastrow, *ZA,* 1908, 155. As the goddess of love her patronage is appropriate. The epithet עזיזתא (cf. 38: 7) recalls the Babylonian *ezzu,* a frequent epithet of gods, while Ishtar especially appears as the raging goddess, whether of war, in Assyria, or of love, in the Izdubhar epic. The same epithet became the old Arabian name of the morning-star, al-'uzza, (Wellhausen *Skizzen,* III, 41, Nöldeke, *ZDMG,* xli, 710, the identification denied by W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.,* 57). The Edessene עזיז was originally the morning-star, Lagrange, *Études,*[2] 135; cf. the Aramaic names עשתרעזא and עשתרתעז (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 347 f.).

[3] So also to be explained דלפת in Schwab, *Vocab.,* 403.

No. 29 (CBS 16055)

..... (2) יהוה צבאות לאסותא [. מתאניש] (3) בת ראשן דפקק חייה חייה (4) פשר מְעֻזָן נשנין קציצי אב . רקיעי וְחתים (5) למתאניש בת ראשן קמיעה בשמיה דיהוה צבאות למתאניש בת ראשן וצירין (6) מינה מן בנה מן ביתה מן דירתה כולה פגעין בישין ושידין בישין ולילית בי[ש]תא (7) וכשירה וענקתה כיפתא ומבכלתא ובנתא דברא וטומי ובר ניפלא משבענא [עליכון] (8) מידעם ביש שרי בביתיה ובדרתיה דחליפאי בר שישין שידא ודרשי בראי זאסטרובא הני (9) . . .קיתא חרסום אינגע פגע לילי ס.רא וטבא ושידי בני טילי וכל זיקין ומזיקין בישין דדכרנא שמיה[ן ודלא (10) ד]כרנא שמיהון מומינא ומשבענא ומקימנא וגידנא ומקימנא עליכון בשמיה מו דקץ שץ מץ בץ קץ קץ בץ יְן (11) אהיה אשר אהיה אלהא רבא מיצואה שמו הוא אלהא מרי כל אסותא דכורסיה מתקן בי שחקי לשחקים ועלמיה מתקן ל. (12) ביהוה ולתושבחיה ולהימנותיה ולעובדיה הוא אלהא רבא גיברא

Translation

[This bowl is appointed in the name of?] (2) Yhwh Sebaoth for the salvation [and sealing? of Metâniš] (3) bath Rêšân (4) and sealed (5) for Metâniš b. R.,—an amulet in the name of Yhwh Sebaoth for Metâniš b. R. And bound (6) from her, from her children, from her house, from all her dwelling, are the evil Plagues and evil Demons and the evil and the decent Lilith and the Necklace-spirits and ... Menstruation and Tormentors and the Hags of the wild and Impurities and Epilepsy (?).

We adjure you (8) whatsoever evil thing lodges in the house and dwelling of Ḥaliphâi bar Šiššîn ... and Darši the foreigner and Astrôbâ (9) Leprosy, Plague, Stroke, the kindly and ... Lili, and the Demons, ghostly Shades, and all Goblins and evil Injurers whose names I have mentioned and whose names [I have not] (10) mentioned: I exorcise and adjure and make fast and bind and make fast (*sic*) upon you, in the name of MW, of ḲṢ, ŠṢ, MṢ, BṢ, KṢ, KṢ, BṢ, ... (11) I-am-that-I-am, the great God, Meṣôâh his name. He is God, the Lord of all Salvation, whose throne is established between the ethers and his eternity (world?)

is established for (12) in YHWH and for his praise and the faith in him and his service. He is the great, the mighty God.

COMMENTARY

A charm made out for two different parties, (1) a woman Metâniš and her household, and (2) for several men and their house and quarters. These may be lodgers in the woman's house. One of the men is a "foreigner." The tone of piety in the charm is superior to that of the other texts; the incantation is in the name of YHWH Sebaoth alone, whose praises are dwelt upon in almost liturgical fashion.

1. The charm appears to have a double introduction. Most of ll. 3, 4 is unintelligible.

5. מתאניש:?—ראשן: possibly the father's name, Syriac ראשנא, "prince." One is tempted to compare the name of the famous Roxane; the masc. parallel Roxanes = Persian Rôšan, Justi, p. 262. But the *ô* should be indicated.

6. לי בי וכשירה: see above, p. 76. כי may be euphemistic and then have developed into a distinct species. Cf. the epithet טאבא in l. 9.

7. כיפסא: Syriac *kepsâ*.—בנתא דברא: cf. 17: 3.—טומי: Syriac טאומא.

בר ניפלא: one might think, in the context, of abortion. But in the Talmud בן נפילים is a demon of nervous trouble or epilepsy, *Bekor.* 44b; see Grünbaum *ZDMG*, xxxi, 332 for some discussion of the word. Epilepsy was a most common disease in antiquity; n. b. the miracles in the New Testament, and for the Hellenic world cf. Tambornino, *De antiquorum daemonismo*, 57: often equivalent to insanity. It has been generally supposed that the Jews were particularly subject to this disease; M. Fishberg in *The Jews*, London and New York, 1911, denies this, but admits the nervous pathology of the race (chap. xv). Cf. 16: 8 for another disease cited in *Bekor.* 44.

8. דרתיה: alongside of דירי, l. 6; the form appears in the Syriac and Mandaic bowls.

חליפאי = Palmyrene חליפי; for signification, cf. מחלפתא.

שישין : cf. the Persian (?) names Sisines, Sisinnios, Šišôi, Justi, p. 303; on the etymology of Sisines see Nöldeke, *Pers. Studien*, 404, no. 1.

Cf. the Jewish names שישא and שישנא, *Seder ha-Doroth,* ii, 348 f. Also in Pognon B (where שעשין) it is the name of the parent—mother or father? Is שידא an additional name? Of רשי we learn only that he is a foreigner. Also אסטרובא is evidently a Greek name.

9. אינגע: the demon offspring of Adam are called נגעי בני אדם in the Zohar, Eisenmenger, ii, 422.

חרסום: for this formation, see Levias, *Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom ... in the Bab. Talmud,* § 975. For similar eruptive diseases named in these texts, see p. 93.

בני טילא: epithet of the goblins; Rabb. טולא, Syr. *ṭellâ,* "shadow." Cf. the טלני, Targ. *Cant.* 3: 8, etc.

The lacuna at end of the line is supplied by help of 14: 6.

10. For the dominance of sibilants in these magical words cf. p. 60. At the begining and end of the series are characters enclosed in square lines.

11. בי: for בין, as also in the Talmud. There follows a lapse into Hebrew—probably a citation.

שחקים: one of the seven heavens of Kabbalism.

12. תושבחיה: for תושבחתיה?

עובדיה: it is strange to find this word of magical connotation used of true worship in a Jewish text.

No. 30 (CBS 16096)

אסר וחתים ומחאתם ביתא וחיי דנא אישפיזא בר ארחא וינדונדישנט בר (2) איסיפנדרמיד
ותר . . [ב]ת סימכוי מן שאמיש וכיטא מן דיוא מן סאטנא מן שדא דכירא (3) מן
לילית נקיבתא מן רוחין בישין מן חומרא זידניתא מן רוח לילית דיכרא ואנקבתא
עינאנא דיכרא (4) נקבתא עינא חאסדניתא עינא דחזי אף בית ליבא רזא דאו דידיה
חיל בישין הוא מרא זנותא מן חיל ביש (5) סניא מן חזינא ט[רו]דא מן רוחין בישין
מן הוא מרא זאדנותה בשם אתאחשת

Translation

Bound and sealed are the house and the life of this Išpîzâ bar Arhâ, and Yandundišnaṭ bar (2) Ispandarmêd, and ... bath Simkôi, from the Sun and Heat, from the Devil, the Satan, the male Demon (3) the female Lilith, evil Spirits, the impious Amulet-spirit, the lilith-Spirit male or female; the Eye of man (or) (4) woman; the Eye of contumely; the Eye which looks right into the heart; the mystery which belongs to the evil Potency, that impious lord; from the evil hateful Potency; from disturbing Vision; from evil Spirits; from that impious Lord, in the name of

Commentary

A charm for two men and a woman from certain specified diseases and demons. The inscription is illiterate and the script particularly difficult, the writer using a very individual chirography; n. b. the מ, the non-distinction of ד and ר, the א which often consists of but two upright strokes, and the use of one form for internal and finial נ except in the word מן, where a finial is used.

1. אסר: for אסיר.

אישפיזא: cf. the Syriac אשפז (Ašpâz) for the Hebrew אשפנז in Dan. 1: 3. (אספנז occurs in Myhrman, l. 1, to which I cite the Babylonian

Ašpazanda.). The Persian אשפוא is "house," and אישפיזכיא "steward." May it be an abbreviated form of the latter word?[1]

ארחא: cf. the biblical Arah, a post-exilic name.

ינדונדישנט: so the most likely reading of the name.

2. סימכוי: the characters are uncertain. Cf. *Σειμεικος* in a Greek inscription from the Don, = Persian simikos, "silver"; Justi, p. 294.

שאמיש וכיטא: the first word is the Mandaic spelling for "the Sun," which also in the Mandaic religion is regarded as an evil genius. כיטא = קיטא, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 42. Cf. Ps. 121: 6, 91: 6, and see Grünbaum's discussion of the קטב מרירי, the demon of the midday sun, *ZDMG*, xxxi, 251 f.

דכירא: an error for דיכרא (cf. l. 3), or intended for assonance with נקיבתא. Cf. the unabashed spellings in Samaritan literature to produce rhymes. Or is there a play on the roots, דכר and נקב being used in the sense of "name"?—i. e. the named spirits.

3. רוח ליליתא: cf. N. T. *πνεῦμα δαίμονος*.

עינאנא: the last two letters are dittography. There follows a list of various kinds of "evil eye," for which see p. 86.

4. עינא חאסדניתא: so the most likely reading; cf. Lidz. 4, end, עינא חוסראנא (?).

"The eye that sees (or of those that see) within the heart" is a reference to the uncanny effect of the evil eye.

In what follows some corrections are necessary. דהו = דאו ?; for חיל בישין read ח׳ ביש as farther on, and correct זנותא to זאדנותא with l. 5. There is evidently a repetition of phrases. The חיל ביש (like the עין בישא) is the personification of the power operating these psychological wonders. Cf. the Rabbinic כחות (Joel, *Der Aberglaube*, i, 80), the New Testament *δυνάμεις*.

חזינא טרודא = חלמי שנושי, 24: 4.

At the end of l. 5 comes a long series of characters which do not appear to form words.

[1] According to Karmsedin's Lexicon, quoted by Payne-Smith under the latter word; *in lingua Nabathaea est oeconomius et viatorum exceptor*, etc. Observe the accompanying name ארחא.

No. 31 (CBS 9008)

מזמן הנא כאסא לחתמתא (2) דביתה דהנא דאדביה בר אסמנדוכת (3) דתיזה מנה ומן ביתה מבכלתא (4) ולוטתא וחילמא בישא בישא אסירין מזרזין ומשררין (5) מהילין מגנברין ומחתמין ומנטרין הלין כאסא לחתמתא (6) דביתה דהנא דאדבה בר אסמנדוכת דלא נישרון לחדדא בשום יאהיהו (7) נהרבתמן ס מרעם מרמר אות ששביבות אסתר מותא ישהנאה אה אה אה אהה (8) אאאאאאא אמין אמין סלה הללויה +++++++ ניתחתים וניתנטר ביתה (9) ואנתתא ובנה דהנא דאדבה בר אסמנדוכת ותיזה מנה ומן ביתה מבכלתא ולוטתא וחילמא (10) בישא אמין

Translation

This bowl is designated for the sealing (2) of the house of this Dâdbeh bar Asmandûcht, (3) that from him and his house may remove the Tormentor (4) and the Curse and the very evil Dreams. Charmed; fortified and confirmed, (5) corroborated, strengthened and sealed and guarded are these bowls for the sealing (6) of the house of this Dâhbeh b. A., that they may not lodge together (with them). In the name of Yâhihû (7) NHRBTMW, S, MR'S, MRMR, 'oth Šašbiboth, Astar, Mûtâ. YŠHN'H, Ah, Ah, Ah, Ahah, (8) AAAAAAA, Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallulia.

Sealed and guarded shall be the house (9) and wife and sons of this Dâdbeh b. A., that there may remove from him and his house the Tormentor and the Curse and evil Dreams. Amen.

Commentary

For a general discussion of the epigraphy and language of this and the following Syriac bowls (Nos. 31-37), see Introduction, § 6. The crosses in l. 8 are the same as those which occur in the center "seals" of these Syriac bowls.

1. מזמן וגי: cf. 8: 1, and see to 3: 1.

2. Dâdbeh son of Asmanducht appears also in Nos. 12 and 16. Here the latter name appears in full Persian form, *-dûcht*.

3. תיזה = תיזח: see to 4: 6.

4. מזרזין: see to 4: 6.

5. מהילין: for מח׳.-מח הלין כאסא with reference to the four duplicate bowls.

6. יאהיאו: a play on the Tetragrammaton, with the three primary vowels; cf. the magical use of the seven vowels in Greek; there αηω is also found, Paris Pap., l. 3019 ff.

No. 32 (CBS 16086)

מזמן הנא כאסא לחתמתא דביתה (2) ודאנתתה ודבנה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד דתיזה מנה מבכלתא (3) וחלמא בישא פורא רמינא ושקינא עבודא דעביד הוהוא (4) כי הוא דיתיב רב יישוע בר פרחיא וכתב עליהון דסתבירא על כלהון שידא ודיוא (5) וסטנא וללית ולטבא דאית בביתה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד תוב כתב עליהון דסתבירא דלעלם (6) בשום אתמדג אתאתות אתות מן גו ת אתות אתות שמא גיליונא מן גו גיליונא דבהנהון איתכביש (7) שמיא וארעה וטוראּ ובהנהון איתמר רמא[תא] ובהנהון איתמסר [חרשא שידא] ודיוא וסטנא וללית ולטבא (8) ובהנהון עבר מן עלמא וסליק עליכון למרומא ואיתאלף כל קיבלא חביל[א] לחבלותא ואסּ.א [לאפק]כון (9) [מן ב]יתה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד ומן כל דאיתלה שביקית[ון] בדסתבירא ואסיר [וח]תים ומחתם איכין דש[ירא קדמיא לא כד]יבו (10) ואנשא קדמיא דעוטר לא הוו תוב אסיר חתים ומחתם הנא דסתבירא בשום יהיהיהיה יהיה יהיה עא [אמין אמין סלה (11) ניתח]תים וניתנטר ביתה ודורה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד מן מבכלתא וחלמא בישא ולוטתא ותיתחתים ותיתנטר [אנתתה ובנה] (12) מן מבכלתא וחלמא בישא ולוטתא ונידרא ונ ל הל.ה אמין

Translation

This bowl is designated for the sealing of the house and the wife (2) and the children of Dinôi bar Ispandarmêd, that there remove from him the Tormentor (3) and evil Dreams.

The bowl I deposit and sink down, a work which has been made (4) like that which Rab Jesus bar Perahia sat and wrote against them,—a ban-writ against all the Demons and Devils (5) and Satans and Liliths and *Laṭbê* which are in the house of Dînôi b. I. Again: he wrote against them a ban-writ which is for all time, (6) by the virtue of 'TMDG, Atâtôt Atôt, within T(?), Atôt Atôt the name, a writing within a writing. Through which (words) were subjected (7) heaven and earth and the mountains; and through which the heights were commanded; and through which were fettered Arts, Demons and Devils and Satans and Liliths and *Laṭbê;* (8) and through which he passed over from this world and climbed above you

to the height (of heaven) and learned all counter-charms, a ruin to destruction, and ... to bring you forth (9) from the house of Dînôi b. I., and from all that is in his house, I have dismissed you by the ban-writ. And charmed and sealed and countersealed is it, even as ancient runes fail not, (10) and (like) ancient men who are not ... Again: charmed and sealed and countersealed is this ban-writ by the virtue of YHYHYHYHYH, YHYH, YHYH, A'. Amen, Amen, Selah.

(11) Sealed and protected are the house and dwelling of Dînôi b. I. from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse. And sealed and protected be [his wife and son] (12) from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and Curse and Vows and Hallela, Amen.

Commentary

Nos. 32 and 33 certain practically identical inscriptions, except that they are made out in the name of different clients, and that No. 32 has additional matter at the beginning and the end. This identity is fortunate for the interpretation of the two bowls, for the lacunae in each one can be almost wholly supplied from the other. Also No. 35 is made out for the wife of the client of the present charm. The chirography of all three bowls is the same, being more cursive than the script of No. 31.

The charms effected in this and the following bowl are attributed to a certain master magician, Jesus bar Perahia, evidently the Joshua ben Perahia, who appears in the same capacity in Nos. 8, 9, and 17. Now Joshua ben Perahia is one of the several *Zugoth* or Pairs, who handed down the tradition of the Law from the Great Synagogue; and he flourished in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, in the early part of the first century B. C. The Mishnaic reference to him is found in *Pirke Aboth* 1: 7, where the following *dictum* is attributed to him: "Make unto thyself a master, and possess thyself of an associate, and judge every man on the scale of merit."

Further, an interesting Talmudic tradition concerning the same Joshua appears in uncensored editions, according to which he fled into Egypt to escape the cruel persecution instituted by Alexander against the Pharisees, culminating in the crucifixion of eight hundred of that faction, *circa* 88

B. C.[1] The tradition is of added interest because it connects Joshua with a certain ישו whose identity with Jesus of Nazareth is generally recognized.[2]

The passage in *Sanh.* 107b reads as follows: The rabbis taught: The left hand should always push away, and the right hand receive favorably. Not like Elisha, who drove away Gehazi with both hands, nor like Joshua b. P. who drove off Jesus (in the Munich MS., and in *Soṭa* ישו חנוצרי, i. e. Jesus the Nazarene)..... How was that? When king Jannaeus killed the rabbis, R. Joshua b. P. and Jesus went to Alexandria of Egypt. When peace was established, Simeon b. Šeṭaḥ sent a message to him: From Jerusalem the Holy City to thee Alexandria of Egypt, my sister: My husband is lodged in thee, and I sit desolate.—He (Joshua) arose, and came, and lodged at a certain inn, where they paid him great respect. He said: How fair is this inn (*aksania*). He (Jesus) said to him, Rabbi, her eyes (as though by *aksania* the landlady was meant!) are too bleary. He replied to him: Thou knave, thou busiest thyself with such stuff! He brought forth four hundred horns and excommunicated him. He (Jesus) came in his presence many a time, and said, Receive me; he took no notice of him. One day he was reading the Shema, Jesus again presented himself, thinking he would receive him. He made a sign to him with his hand, he thought that he had utterly rejected him. He went off and erected a tile and worshipped it. Joshua said to him, Repent. He replied, I have been taught by thee that every sinner and seducer of the people can find no opportunity for repentance. And so it was said: Jesus bewitched and seduced and drove off Israel.

It is of interest that the Jesus of our texts is given a title which became the epithet of the Nazarene Jesus with whom Talmudic tradition connected him: ישוע אסיא, 34: 2, = Ἰησοῦς σωτήρ. Is there in this magical reference to Jesus b. Perahia a confusion with Jesus Christ?

We find then in these magical bowls an independent tradition concerning an early hero of the Law, who appears as endowed with magic powers, and who furthermore was able to make the ascent of the soul to heaven. He was accordingly one of the earliest to attain that spiritual

[1] See Schürer, *GJV*[4], i, 288.

[2] The anecdote is found in *Sanhedrin* 107b = *Soṭa* 47a; cf. Jerusalem Talmud *Ḥagiga*, ii, 2, *Sanh.* vi, 8. Dalman, in Laible's *Jesus Christus im Talmud*[2], Appendix, p. 8 ff., gives the texts of the first three passages, with critical apparatus, and Strack, *Jesus, die Häretiker u. d. Christen*, 1910, § 8, gives the texts from *Ḥagiga*, and the Bab. *Sanhedrin*. Through the kindness of Dr. Julius H. Greenstone, I have also had access to his rare copy of the Constantinople edition, 1585, of *Sanhedrin*. Dalman quotes the Venetian editions of the two Talmuds, and the *Jewish Encyclopaedia, s. v.* "Joshua b. P." cites the Amsterdam and Berlin edition of 1865 for the passage in *Soṭa*. On the criticism of the legend concerning Jesus, see Laible, p. 40 ff., and Strack, *ad loc.* The Jerusalem Talmud names Juda b. Tabai in place of Joshua (they were contemporaries) and omits mention of Jesus. Cf. Blau, p. 34, for some points of interpretation. The introduction of Jesus is a sheer anachronism.

privilege, which was the claim of apocalyptists from the author of *Enoch* down. See in general Bousset, "Die Himmelreise d. Seele," in *Archiv f. Rel-wissenschaft,* iv (1901), 136 f., 229 f. Such a claim is made for Akiba, who alone of four friends succeeded in penetrating Paradise, *Ḥagiga* 14b (see Bousset, p. 145), and this mystical claim was asserted by the Kabbalists for Moses and especially for R. Ishmael; see full references in Bousset, p. 151 ff., cf. Graetz, *Gesch.* v, 231 and Joel, *Aberglaube,* ii, 35. The Talmudic tradition has unfortunately not preserved for us enough of the mystical side of the early teachers; Akiba could not have been alone in his mysticism. Joshua was possibly one of the good company of apocalyptists and our magic tradition may preserve a true reminiscence of his personality and claims.

2. בנה: plural with masc. sing. suffix, as in the texts above and in Mandaic.

דינוי: s. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien,* 403.

3. פורא רמינא ונ': see to 9: 1. I may now add the Syriac פוחרא, "earthenware figures" (of the gods), occurring in Overbeck, *Ephraemi Syri ... opera,* 13, l. 24. Compare also the Assyrian *pûru,* "bowl," see Zimmern, *Beiträge,* 147, note k, and *KAT*^{3}, 518: but my etymology contravenes that of Zimmern.

עבודא: so also in No. 33; elsewhere עבדא, עובדא, מעבדא.

הוהוא: a duplicated form of the pronoun, found in the Syriac.

4. כי: a preposition appearing in the Rabbinic dialect, not in Syriac.

יישוע: the spelling represents the older pronunciation, the Biblical יֵשׁוּעַ, Ἰησοῦς, the Jacobite Yêšû, over against the Nestorian Išû.

דסתבירא: Prof. Roland G. Kent, to whom I referred this word, has published an elaborate study of it in *JAOS,* 1911, 359. He comes to the conclusion that it means "a handwritten deterrent," from *dast,* "hand" + *bhîra* (Sansk.), "terrifying." The word occurs only here and in No. 33.

5. לטבא: see to 9: 7.

6. The same magical reference appears in No. 32. For the practice see the more perfect form in 9: 6.

הנהון : a unique spelling (occurring also in the parallel, No. 33, along with הנון), for the Syriac *hennôn.* It is an elder form and is to be compared with the Rabbinic אינהו, see Levias, *Grammar,* § 95.

7. איתמר: corresponding to both Syriac and Rabbinic forms.

איתמסר: from a denominative verb, arising from the root אסר. Payne-Smith, col. 2181, gives a citation for מסר, = *vinxit catenis vel compedibus,* with which may be compared ממסרנותא, *actus ligationis, ib.* col. 324. Also cf. מצר, Glossary C.

8. חבילא : also found in 37: 11 and in Lidzbarski, *Mand. Amulet,* l. 33 (de Vogüé volume).

לאפקבן : for the infinitive, cf. 9: 8.

איבין = Syriac *aikannâ;* the good Syriac איך appears in the parallel 34: 4. What follows is not perfectly clear. By the "ancient songs" (שירא rare in Syriac), are meant charms (i. e. *carmina*), such as the master Jesus b. P. once used. But the following clause remains obscure because of the unintelligible דעוטר.

10. אנשא: cf. the Rabbinic אינשי, which Nöldeke (*Mand. Gram.,* 182) understands as *ênâšê,* not *inšê.* The Syriac rarely uses the plural in the sense of "men."

No. 33 (CBS 16019)

פורא רמינא ושקינא (2) עבודא דעביד הוהוא כי הוא (3) דיתיב רב יישוע בר פרחיא וכתב
(4) עליהון דסתבירא על בלהון שידא ודיוא וסטנא (5) וללֵיתא ולטבא דאית בביתה
דדאדבה בר אסמנדוכת (6) תוב כתב עליהון דסתבירא דלעלם בשום אתמדג אתאתות
(7) אתו[ת מן גו ת] אתות אתות שמא [גי]ליונא מן גו גיליונא דבהנהון איתכביש
(8) שמ[יא וארע]א וטורא ובהנון איתמר רמאתא ובהנון איתמסר חרשא שידא (9) ודי[וא
וסט]נא וללֵיתא ולטבא וב[הנון ע]בר מן עלמא וסליק עליכון למרומא ואיתאל[ף כל]
(10) קיבלא חבילא לחבלותא [ואסְ.א] לאפקכון מן ביתה דדאדבה בר אסמנדוכת
(11) ומן כול דאיתלה שביקיתון בדסתב[ירא ואסיר ו]חתים ומחתם איכין דשירא
קדמיא לא כדיבו (12) ואנשא קדמיא דעוטר לא הוו תוב אסיר חתים ומחתם הנא
דסתבירא בשום יהיהיה יהיה יהיה עא (13) אמין אמין סל[ה] ניתחתים וניתנטר ביתה
דה[נא דאדבה בר אס]מנדוכת ואנתתה בנה ובנתה וקנינה מן מבכלתא ולוטתא אמין

This inscription is practically contained in No. 32, with a change in the name of the client, who is the same as the one in the Syriac No. 31 and Nos. 12, 16.

No. 34 (CBS 9012)

מזמן הנא כאסא לחתומין ביתה דמיחר חורמיזד בר מאמי (2) בחיל חיל דיישוע אסיא בחיל אחני תקיפא אסיר דורה ומשכונתה (3) וביתה ואנחתה ובנהּ ובנתהּ דמיחר חורמיזד דמיתקרא בר מאמי אסיר וחתים (4) איך דאמר מושאּ לימא דסוף וקמו איך שורא דמן תרויהון גיסן אסיר וחתים אסיר וחתים (5) בחדא מלתא דאשכבה אלהא לארעה ולאֵילנא דרדעין לאמרוהון אסיר וחתים באסור טוראּ ורמאתאּ (6) אסיר וחתים בנו שמיא וארעא שמשא וסהרא כוכבאּ ומזלאּ ובמלתא אסירין ובפוקדנא קימין בשום (7) מכיאיל אסיא ורופיאיל מדוליא וגבריאיל עבדא דאדוני אסירא וחתימא כולהּ בישותא דאית דאית בפגרה דמיחר חורמיזד בר מאמי (8) בביתה אנתתה ובנהּ ובנתאּ ובירה וקנינה ובכל דורה בחתמה דארין בר זנד ובעיזקתה דשלימון מלכא בר דויד (9) דבה חתימין עשמאּ ולטבאּ וחתימנא בחתמא דאילשדי ואברכסם מריא תקיפא וחתמא רבא דחתימין בה שמיא וארעא וכל שידאּ (10) ועיקדאּ טמיאּ ולטבאּ מנה מן קדמה וחתמא הנא לאכערון ועל קמתא ומיעלא לא נעילון וכל דמקר ושיט ושרא אתסר באסור (11) נורא ובשישלן כיא עדמא למשרא שמיא וארעא אמין אמין סלה ניתחתים וניתנטר ביתה ואנתתה ובנהּ וקנינה ופנרה דמיחר חורמיזד (12) בר מאמי ותיזה מנה מבכלתא וחלמאּ ביישאּ ולוטתא ונידרא וחרשאּ ומבכלתא וזינאּ וחוסרנאּ ותוכאּ ומיסכינותא ותיתחתים ותיתנטר בחרוי בת בת סהדאּ (13) מן מבכלתא וחלמאּ ביישאּ ולוטתא ונידרא וחרשאּ ומעבדאּ ותיתסר מבכלתא וללית ומישמתתא ומבטלתא בידהּ וברגלהּ ולא תקרוב להּ (14) ולא תיחטר בהּ בהדא בחרוי בת בת סהדאּ אמין

Translation

This bowl is designated for the sealing of the house of Mihr-hormizd bar Mâmî (2) by power of the virtue of Jesus the healer, by the virtue of my mighty relative. Charmed is the dwelling, and the abode (3) and the house and the wife and the sons and the daughters of Mihr-hormizd, who is surnamed b. M.; charmed and sealed (4) even as Moses commanded the Red Sea and they (the waters) stood up like a wall on both sides. Charmed and sealed, charmed and sealed, (5) by this word which God

laid upon the earth and the trees which... their tops; charmed and sealed with the seal of the mountains and heights; (6) charmed and sealed (with the spell which is) in the heavens and the earth, the sun and the moon, the stars and (zodiacal) signs, and by the word they are charmed and remain in ward. In the name of (7) Michael the healer and Rofiel the reliever, and Gabriel the servant of the Lord.

Charmed and sealed is all evil that is in the body of Mihr-hormizd b. M. (8) and in his house (and) his wife and his sons and his daughters and his cattle and his property and in all his dwelling, by the signet of Ariôn son of Zand and by the seal of King Solomon son of David, (9) by which were sealed the Oppressors and the *Laṭbê*. And we have sealed with the seal of El Šaddai and Abraxas the mighty lord, and the great seal with which were sealed heaven and earth and all Demons (10) and foul Knots and *Laṭbê*, which contend against him. And a seal is this against Harm and Constraint (?), that they shall not at all enter in. And every *Damḳar* and *Šaiṭ* and *Šarâ* are charmed by the spell of (11) fire and the enchainment of water until the dissolution of heaven and earth. Amen, Amen, Selah. Sealed and guarded be the house and wife and sons and property and body of Mihr-hormizd (12) b. M., and depart from him the Injurer and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow and Arts and the Tormentor and Damages and Losses and Failures and Poverty.

And sealed and protected be Bahrôi bath Bath-Sâhdê from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow and Arts and Practices. And charmed be the Tormentor and Lilith and Ban-spirit, who thwarts her in her hand and foot, and may it not approach nor afflict this Bahrôi b. B.

Commentary

The text is of the same order as those immediately preceding. At the end the charm is operated for a woman (with a Christian name), presumably the wife of the chief client of the text.

1. חתומין: the reading is certain, and the word is parallel to חתמתא in the previous inscriptions, but the formation is unique, if it be not an error; חתומי would be a Pael inf.

A Hormizd son of Mâmâ(i) appears in No. 15.

מיחר חורמיזד is the same as Mitr-ôharmazde, or Mihrhormuz, the name of the murderer of Chosroes II; see Justi, p. 216.

2. אסיא: here applied to the sorcerer, but otherwise of God, e. g. 3: 1, or angels, e. g. Michael, l. 7. See introduction to notes on No. 32.

אחני (evidently so written) I take to be for אחיני, "my cousin." The magical tradition was handed down in the sorcerer's family, cf. 8: 11.

משכנותא = משכנא, but of peculiar formation.

4. מושא: a point over א, also in the same name in 35: 6—diacritical for *ê?*

The charm is the effective one used by Moses at the Red Sea, cf. *Ex.* 14: 22. See p. 64 for the magical use of such episodes. But the plural קמו is a reminiscence of *Josh.* 3: 16, and indicates conflation of the two narratives. מן תרויהון גיסין appears to be a confusion for מן תרוי גיסיהון. תרוי is Palmyrene and Rabbinic, not Edessene, but is found in neo-Syriac, Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 153.

5. אשכבה: of laying a spell; the same verb for laying a ghost, 16: 11. The Afel is a hebraism. Compare *Is.* 9: 7: "a word Yahwe has sent in Jacob, and it has fallen in Israel"; i. e. the magical word itself is potent.

אילנא וגי: the reference of the noun is obscure as is also the meaning of the following verb. There may be a reference to some myth concerning ancient "big" trees; cf. Isaia's denunciation of "everything high and lifted up," 2: 5 ff., and especially his woe upon the cedars of Lebanon and the אלוני הבשן, v. 13. Then v. 14 is parallel to the טורא ורמאתא of l. 5. The following relative clause is almost unintelligible. The root רדע is found only in Arabic, = "withhold, refuse." The next word I identify with the Biblical אמיר, *Is.* 17: 6 (possibly, with some critics, also in *Gen.* 49: 21). The old tree-myth may have told how the trees flaunted their high tops against the gods. The obscurity of the passage may be due to corruption of the form of the legend. The י of אמריהון appears to be used as one of the *Seyâmê* points.

6. אסירין: n. b. position of the points.

בפוקדנא: a reference to the myth of the restraint of the celestial powers; see the discussion on 4: 5, and cf. *Is.* 24: 21.

7. מדוליה: a unique epithet for Raphael. It is a *pau'el* formation from דלא, and, agreeably to the etymology of Raphael and parallel to the epithet applied to Gabriel, the participle is used in the sense "to relieve," *sc.* the sick. Cf. *Baba Bathra* 16 b, אידלי יומא אידלי קצירא; "when the day is high, the sick man is relieved." In the Syriac the Pael came to be used in the sense of "saving," see Payne-Smith, col. 903.

גבריאיל עבדה דא': Gabriel is especially the messenger of Deity; cf. *Luke* 1, and *Rev.* 19: 10, where the angel who calls himself *σύνδουλος* with the apocalyptist may be Gabriel.

8. בירה: Mandaic form. Several phylacteries for cattle are given in Pradel's collection of Graeco-Italian charms; e. g. p. 18 and references, pp. 125, 127. An exorcism against the "seven accursed brothers" (the Babylonian Seven) who attack and devour the blood of the cattle, is given in Gollancz's Syriac charms, p. 87. According to the Babylonian magic the Seven Spirits "smite both oxen and sheep" (Thompson, *Sem. Magic,* i, 33). The mediaeval belief in the 'hexing' of cattle still flourishes among the Pennsylvania Germans.

אריון בר זנד: this sorcerer's name appears also in No. 19: 13, 17, and the two passages help mutually to identify the words.

9. עשמא: a new species of demons, "the oppressors," ppl. of a common Syriac root.

10. עיקדא (or פ' ?): "Knots," i. e. of magical power. The word corresponds to the Arabic *'uḳdat.*

טמיא: י has usurped the radical א; cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 33 b.

מתעזין: Etpa. of עזא, probably metaplastic for עזז.

אכערון: for the prosthetic vowel see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 51, *Mand. Gram.,* § 24 (n. b. the equivalence of לאב' and על ק', as in Mandaic). The word may mean ugliness or some more specific malady. Cf. the charms in the Greek magical papyri for obtaining good looks.

The parallel קמתא must also mean some kind of malady, and may be identified with the Assyrian *kamtu,* "misery" (Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.* 366), which is to be connected with the Hebrew and Aramaic root קמט, "compress" (with dissimilation of the dental); probably some form of contortion.

מיעלא נעילן: the first word is evidently an absolute infinitive from עלל, *plus* â (= *me"ĕlâ* = *me'lâ*, cf. the noun *ma'lâ*). For this formation with final â, Nöldeke offers a Mandaic instance, *Mand. Gram.*, 250, last line, מיקמא. In the form נעילן (if י is to be read) doubling of the second radical appears; cf. the Mandaic form תירינן, cited by Nöldeke, *ibid.*, 249, *ad infra*.

וכל דמקר ושיט ושרא: all three words are obscure. The second may be the שיט of the Ḳrê to *Is.* 28: 15, = שוט, "scourge." The third may be the Rabbinic שרא, "prince, demon"; or the Hebrew *šêrah* (also Aramaic) "chain, necklace," cf. the magical ענקתא. But diseases are apparently intended (cf. אבערון above), and we may identify שיט with the Syriac *Šâiṭâ*, "eye-tumor" (Payne-Smith, col. 4094), and שרא with the Syriac שריא (*ib.*, 4316), "diarrhoea." דמקר may then be understood aas a formation from נקר, "pierce," of *taf'al* form,—*tanḳar* =*tamḳar* (cf. Delitzsch, *Ass. Gram.*, § 59), = *damḳar*. With the root meaning of perforation, cancer or the like may be referred to. The absolute forms are used, as proper names.

11. אסור נורא ובשישלן מיא: fire and water are potent over demons. שישלן is a collective form in *-ân*. Cf. the *catenis igneis* in Wünsch, *Ant. Fluchtafeln*, no. 7.

עדמא למשרא וג': the demons are to be bound till the end of the present aeon; then will begin a new order, which will include the final destruction of their power; cf. 2 *Pet.* 3: 12: *οὐρανοὶ πυρούμενοι λυθήσονται*; also *Enoch*.

12. זינא: "loss"; see Jastrow, p. 393, Payne-Smith, col. 1118. For the personification of all kinds of losses, see p. 94.

בהרוי: hypocoristicon of Bahram? See Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, 387 ff., Justi, 361 ff.

בת סהדא: "Daughter-of-the-Martyrs," a Christian name, cf. Bar-S., in Asseman, *Bibl. Or.*, ii, 403 (Payne-Smith, col. 2536), a bishop of Nineve. Cf. the proper names, "Son-of-Carpenters," "Son-of-Ironsmiths," *ib.* 591, 596.

13. משמתתא וג': epithets of the Lilith, who is also the Witch, who can "bind" the limbs of her victim; see No. 42 and p. 78. Superior points for the feminine suffix are used here as also in No. 35.

14. תיחטר: switchings by demons are a common theme of magic, see 1: 10; compare the Christian hagiological legends.

No. 35 (CBS 16097)

מזמן הנא כאסא לחתמתא ונטרתא (2) דביתהּ ודבנהּ ודקנינהּ ודפנרהּ דמאידוכת (3) בת
בומבוי דתיתנטר מן שידאּ שׁבטא [ו]דיואּ וסטנאּ (4) וסוטיטא ודיאבולאּ ומן נידראּ
וקרותא ואשלמתא דבני אנשא בשום (5) ארשי ארדי ומארי מיכאיל ונוריאיל
ושלטיאיל ומנטריאיל וחתמיאיל (6) ואנון איתפקיד עם מושׁא למנטרנותא ואנון ננטרונהּ
להדא מאידוכת בת (7) כומבוי מן כל דיואּ סניאּ ושידאּ מדחלנאּ ומן כל לוטתא ונידרא
דבני אנשא דגבר[אּ (8) וד]נשאּ ודפתכראּ ד . . כ . . ואינ[ו]ן דלא מ . . בתא בשום
ובשמה דעשׂ.אקיה חמריאיל ושריאיל (9) . . מ . . בא סיאה דיהאדונקמיא נאיא.או או
אמיר אמיר בשום הלין מלאכאּ ואתותאּ דאנון ננטרונהּ (10) ונחתמונהּ להדא מאידוכת
בת כומבוי מן כל דביש לעלמאּ [ל]עלם אמן תיתחתים ותיתנטר מאידוכת בת כומבוי
מן (11) מבכלתא וחלמאּ בישאּ ולוטתא ונידרא ותיתסר מבכלתא וללילתא ומשמתתא
ומבטלתא באידהּ וברגלהּ ולא תקרוב להּ למאידוכת (12) בת כומבוי ותיתנטר ביתה ואנתתה
ובנהּ וקינינה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד מן מבכלתא וחלמאּ בישאּ ולוטתא ונדרא אמין

Translation

Appointed is this bowl for the sealing and guarding (2) of the house and sons and property and body of Mâidûcht (3) bath Kumbôi, that she may be guarded from Demons, Plagues and Devils and Satans (4) and Seducers and Diaboli, and from any Vows and Invocations and Rites of mankind; in the name of (5) *arši, ardi* and *mâri;* Michael and Nûriel and Šalṭiel and Mantariel and Ḥithmiel. (6) And they were commissioned along with Moses to wardship, and they will guard this Mâidûcht b. (7) K. from all hostile Devils and affrighting Demons, and from every Curse and Vow of mankind, of men (8) and of women, and of Idol-spirits who (are known) and who are not (known) by name. And in the name of ..., Ḥamariel and Šariel (9) of Yah-Adon-Ḳamya; *nâyâ, ô, ô!* Commanded, commanded is it in the name of these angels and letters which will guard (10) and seal this Mâidûcht b. K. from everything evil, for the ages

forever, Amen. Sealed and guarded is Mâidûcht b. K. from (11) the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow; and charmed the Tormentor and Lilith and Ban-spirit who thwarts her in her hand and foot; and may it not approach Mâidûcht (12) b. K.

And guarded be the house and wife and son and property of Dînôi son of Ispandarmêd from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow. Amen.

Commentary

Largely a replica of No. 34. It is made out for the wife of the client of No. 33, who is himself given a little space at the end.

1. נטרתא(ל) : noun of intensive formation; cf. the charm *εἰς φρούρησιν*, Reitzenstein, *Poim.* 292.

2. מאידוכת: for the the first element Mâi see Justi, p. 187. The name also appears in the unpublished No. 16093.

3. כומבוי : cf. Κωφαιος, Κυβαι, Κομβαφις, Justi, p. 165.

4. סוטיטא: (a plural-point is not visible) a peculiar formation, evidently to be connected with the theme סוט, סטא, "go astray"—hence "seducing spirits," corresponding to the words before and after. The form may be explained as a Pi'lel participle, with rejection of prefix. Cf. 2 *Ki*, 22: 19 ff., and the *πνεύμασιν πλάνοις καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων* of 1 *Tim.* 4: 1.

דיאבולא: some of the characters are uncertain, but the word is sufficiently clear. It appears in Syriac only (in the singular in -ōs) in the Arabic lexicons; see Payne-Smith, col. 868.

קרותא: evidently the same as the common קריתא. Notice the distinction made here between diabolic arts and human machinations.

5. For the assonance, see p. 61. Letters and angels are practically the same; see p. 99. Of these angels, Nuriel is one of the archangels (also Uriel), Manṭariel and Ḥithmiel are unique, Šalṭiel is listed by Schwab as a form of Salṭiel. These were Moses' guardian angels, and so can be effective for the present client.

No. 36 (CBS 2933)

. . . מזמן הנא כא[סא] . . . יא אתחפיך . . ות (2) דחי קטולתא ברת קטולתא
פוק פוק ושני מן קדמי . . . מריא (3) שמיש עלך שלחני [סי]נא שדרני בי פקדני ננאי
אמר לי ומ. . . כבינה ונירינ (4) יהב לי חילא דאזיל עלה על רוחא בישתא ועל דודיב
דקרין לה חנוקיתא דקטלא דרטקא (5) בחנא דאימחתהון ומתקריא ממתניתא ואבחיהון
מובדנא פוק מן קדמיהון דהלין מלאכא (6) דנחיין בנא לאימחתהון וילדא רקיקא
לאבחיהין דשמא יהב לי דבה אפקבי רוחא בישתא פוק מן קדמי (7) [הלין מלאכא]
ושני מן הנא חתמא גמיפא ואזיל לבית חלולא ואכול . . . אף נקותא אישתאי ו יזדוך
ומדב.ה (8) [א]מין אמין סלה

Translation

... designated is this bowl ... turned away ... (2) of that Murderess, daughter of Murderess. Go away, go away, and depart from before ... The lord (3) Šameš (the Sun) has charged me against thee, Sin (the Moon) has sent me, Bel has commanded me, Nannai has said to me, and and Nirig (Nergal) (4) has given me power to go against the evil spirit, against Dôdîb, whom they call the Strangler, who kills the young (5) in the womb of their mothers, and they are called "Slayer," and their fathers "Destroyer." Go from the presence of these holy angels (6) that sons may come to birth to their mothers and little children to their fathers. Because he has given me a name by which I shall drive thee forth, Evil Spirit. Go from the presence of (7) [these angels] and depart from this engraved seal, and go to the bridal chamber and eat...; moreover drink a libation and [depart from ... daughter of ...]-izdûch and her (8) Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

This inscription has a twofold interest. Its magic purpose is the insurance of a bride against the goblin which would destroy her powers of motherhood; the evil spirit is invited to go to the bridal chamber and there

partake of a certain food and drink, which it is to be presumed, would in some way incapacitate his powers; the text is badly obscured, but enough survives to recall the book of Tobit and the charm Raphael performed against the demon which haunted the chamber of Tobias's bride. Magic is full of this lilith witch who destroys love; for an early instance, cf. the *Maḳlu*-series, iii, 1 ff.: "The witch who robs the love of the enamored man, ... of the enamored maid. Looking at her he feels her lascivious charm. She looks on the man and takes away his love; she looks on the maid and takes away her love." Cf. Nos. 13, 28.

The other feature of interest is that the charm is given as though from the old pagan deities, the lord Šameš, Sin, Bel, Nannai, and Nirig, the ancient Nergal. All these except Nannai survived as evil spirits,—the spirits of the seven planets—in the Mandaic religion (see Norberg, *Onom., s. vv.*), but the present charm confesses their benevolent power and is also without any Mandaic trace. (This more antique aspect of these deities appears in the early Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski, in the de Vogüé volume, where, l. 247 ff., "Samiš, Bel, Nirig and Kewan have strengthened him.") It is a relic of the religion which survived to a comparatively late date in Harran. The charm is given in the form of an oracle from these deities according to ancient magical use; see p. 100. For these Syrian deities see the list given by Jacob of Sarug, edited by Martin, *ZDMG*, xxix, 110-131, and in general for the material Chwolson, *d. Ssabier u. d. Ssabismus* (1856). For the use made by the Harranian pagans of "magic, conjurations, knots, figures, amulets," etc., see Chwolson's extract from the Fihrist, *ibid.*, ii, 21; for their use of oracles, p. 19.

1. אתחפיך: ח for ה, see § 6.

2. For the demon's artificial names, see p. 77.

2 f. מריא שמיש: in the Mandaic אדוני is the epithet of the Sun, e. g. *Ginza* r., p. 23, l. 15, ed. Peterman; for שמיש, cf. Mandaic שאמיש.

סינא: נ is more likely than ר, and we obtain a form of Sin in the Syriac. The Mandaic has both סין and סירא.

בי: a dialectic form of ביל (Mandaic). For analogies in neo-Punic names (בי, בעי, בע), see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 289; *CIS, Inscr. phoen.*, no. 869; and in Syriac the deity Bêducht (Bel's or Beltis's, daughter), see

discussion in G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1880), 151 ff.

נאי : the ancient Babylonian goddess Nanna (see Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens* i, 76 ff., 252, 266), daughter of Sin. See at length for the later character of this deity G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* 130 ff., 151 ff. (for later literature, Roscher's *Lexicon, s. v.* "Nana"). She combined both Venus- and Diana-like characteristics, and thus appears on coins with a crescent on her head (*ibid.,* 152). This lunar characteristic doubtless explains the gender of the deity in our text, where as the verb shows, he is masculine. In his history the moon god has vacillated between the two genders, and while in later religion the moon's character has generally been defined as female, nevertheless in the Harranian religion the moon was androgynous; see the excursus by Chwolson in his *Ssabier,* i, 399 ff. (Hence the Latin writers express this Mesopotamian deity by *Lunus.*) It may be noticed that in the reference to Antiochos Epiphanes' raid upon the temple of Ναναιας in 2 *Mac.* 1: 13, 15, there is found in the Alexandrine Codex the masculine variant Ναναιον.

4. דוריב: the name is obscure, probably equivalent to מדובינא, 37: 10, *q. v.*

חנוקיתא: the normal feminine of this formation, as against קטולתא. The same evil spirit, אמא חנוקתא, "Strangling Mother" (of babes) appears twice in Gollancz's Syriac charms, pp. 81, 83 (in *Actes* of the 11th Congr. of Orientalists, sect. 4). And the like epithet is found in the Greek amulet published by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 298, for Baskania, the Lilith-witch, who is charged with the same murderous functions: *ὁρκίζω σε, Στραγγαλία πολύμορφε, ἡ ἐπερχομένη ἐπὶ τὰ μικρὰ παιδία, ἥτις ἔχεις χεῖρα σιδηρᾶν καὶ σύρεις τὰ παιδία καὶ κλέπτεις αὐτὰ καὶ τελευτῶσιν.* And there follow immediately "the names of the holy angels," just as these are referred to in l. 5. See notes on No. 42. With *Στραγγαλία* cf. the demoniac maladies *πνιγαλίων* and *παιδοπνίκτρια* cited by Roscher, *Ephialtes,* 55, 59.

דרטקא = דרדקא 37: 10, דרקא 18: 6, with assimilation of the dental to ק.

ומתקריא וגי: Mandaic form of the fem. pl. The best interpretation of the line is that the mischief wrought to the embryo was charged to the parents who so gained the ill-fame of infanticides. Cf. Ginza ii, 98 (ed. Norberg):

"hence have arisen the abortive ones who make abortions and destroy the foetus." The epithets are in the singular, being used distributively.

5. הלין מלאכא: i. e. the deities mentioned above; see above pp. 97, 99.

6. נחין: "come to the birth." Cf. Rabbinic חייתא, "midwife," and the Syriac Afel used of the function of midwives, e. g. Peshitto to *Ex.* 1: 16.

דשמא יהב: the antecedent is uncertain; probably the charm has been abbreviated.

7. נמיפא: for גליפא? Cf. 11: 8.

אזיל לבית חלולא: the ב׳ ח׳ is the common Syriac term for the marriage chamber, or the nuptials in general. The imperative is apparently addressed like the preceding imperative to the demon who is bidden to go, if she dare, to the wedding, and there partake of the magic foods prepared against her.

נקותא: the Syriac *nᵉkâyâ,* "libation."

אישתאי: the spelling represents the Syriac fem. impr.

יודוך וג׳: probably a Persian feminine name in *-duch,* the bride's name to be filled out here. The following word is obscure, the missing radical may be ס.

No. 37 (CBS 2943)

[מז]מן הנא כאסא לָא[סותא ול]דרמנא (2) [דבי]תְהָ וְאיסקופתה אנתתה [בנה ו]בנתה
בירׄ[ה] . . . (3) [וכול דאי]תלה ודהוין לה לזארוּ ב[ר] . . . [ח]ת[י]ם ביתה (4) . . .
משרר בחיל מילתה דאלהא רז שמיא ורז מ[י]אָ(..)קבין [ורז אר]עא (5) . . . אזא דביתא הדין אנא
אימר על כול דאיתבה על חרשאׄ ועל מב[כלתא ועל] . . . (6) דפתכרותא ועל כול גנדאׄ
ועל חומראׄ ועל איסתרתא ועל כול שיד[אׄ] (7) . . . ועל כול לליתא תקיפתא פיתגאמא
היתְ . . . לכון מחוינא דמקבל • אתה טב . . . (8) . . . לא ראוי מלאׄכא רוגזא אתין
עילוהׄ וְדסיפאׄ וחרבא קדמוהׄ קימין וקטלין לה (9) . . . אִ אתיא עלוה דפיתגמא שמעא
יתיב בביתא אביל ומכיל שתא ומשתקא חדא ומ . . . (10) . . .ב.א לדרדקאׄ הוא
ומדובינא מיתקרא אכותא .לבירא הוא וג.א מיתקרא שלמאִ . . . ל אבוכין דבשׁ . . .
(11) . . . שלמא מִן אלהאׄ דיכראׄ ומן אסתרתא ניקבתא ומשוא שלמא זכא ב. . . ומשוא
חבילא בנורא

Translation

Designated is this bowl for the [salvation and] healing (2) of the house and threshold, the wife, [the sons and] daughters, the cattle, (3) [and all that] is his, and whatsoever shall belong to Zârôi son of ... (4) ... confirmed by the virtue of the word of God, the Mystery of heaven and the Mystery of the assembled waters and the Mystery of earth, (5) ... of this house I will enjoin all that is in it,—Arts and the Tormentor (?) (6) ... [and the Image-spirits] of idolatry, and all the Legions and the Amulet-spirits and the Ishtars and all the Demons ... (7) ... and all mighty Liliths. A word ... I declare unto you, which receiving ... the mysteries of Angels in wrath coming against him and with sabres and sword standing before him and ready to kill him. (9) ... against the word heard (?). He sits in the house, eating and devouring, drinking and quaffing, ... (10) [a slayer of ?] children is he, and Master named; is he, and Jinn (?) named. Peace ... your father ... (11) ... Peace from the male Gods and from the female Ishtars. And victorious peace is set in ..., and destruction is set in the fire ...

Commentary

A badly mutilated bowl with much of the inscription illegible. It is of pagan origin; in the name of God the Mystery of heaven, water and earth, it concludes with a *pax vobiscum* from the gods. The expression "victorious peace," l. 11, recalls the standing Mandaic doxology, "Life is victorious," and the threefold division of the universe may be from the same source. The charm is against a murderous house spirit and is in part parallel to No. 36; here the demon is masculine and is represented as carousing upon the blood of his victims. The quarterings of the circle or seal in the center contain letters of the Tetragrammaton—apparently יה.

1. דרמנא: a Persian word noted by the native Syriac lexicographers, and neo-Syriac; also in Pognon B. See Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, 127.

3. זרוי : cf. Zaroes, name of a Magian, and Zaroi, in Firdausi; the present spelling substantiates *Zar-* against other readings; see Justi, p. 383.

4. אלהא: name of the Light-King in the later Mandaic religion; see Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, 47. For his following epithet as the Mystery of heaven and earth, cf. "the Great Mystery," who is the helper of Hibil-Ziwa in his descent to hell, *Ginza r.*, p. 140, ed. Petermann; see Brandt, *Mand. Schr.*, 143. For the מיא קבין cf. *Gen.* 1: 10. Other "gods" are named below.

7. פיתנאמא וג': resumes אימר, l. 5.

8. ראזי מלאכא: either in appositional sense, ראזא used like איסרא, see p. p. 86, or ר' refers to the magical rites conjuring the angels who are called upon against the evil spirit.

עילוה: the Rabbinic-Mandaic preposition of plur. form, *'elâwê*, but with suffix attached as to a singular form; cf. בנח, "his sons."

9. שמעא: for שמיעא: the incantation *heard?* The following ppls. represent the carousing of the demon over the flesh and blood of his victims. These realistic descriptions were in themselves regarded as prophylactic. מכיל appears to be denominative verb from a noun in מ', formed to rhyme with אכיל.

10. מדובינא = דודיב, a perversion, in 36: 4. The word corresponds to the actual Syriac מדיבנא *tabescere faciens,* Payne-Smith, col. 831.

ג.נא: probably גינא, jinn, see p. 80.

אבוכון: Mandaic "your father."

No. 38 (CBS 2941)

עסיר זריז ומזראז ביתה (2) דורה וחיכלה וביניאנה ובנה ובנאתה (3) וחיוניאתד
ואנאתא דביתה דחינדויתא (4) פת דודאי ומראדא וזאוה ובנה ובנאתה עסירית אנאת
(5) יאנאי לילית אנאת וכולחין שורבאתיך ותלתמא ושיתין (6) שורבאתא במינלתה
ופקדתה דנגונאי (לילית erasure) מלאכא בראזאיון ופאקתון (7) דאלחיא חייא
בשומא דחילא דאלחותא עזיזתא ותקיפתא ובחתמא (8) דבעודאי מלאכא דכל עניש
לאבאר על מלאלה עסיריא כולחון אלחיא ועבוריא [ופרי]ביא ופתיכריא (9) ועסתראתא
מן פנראיון דמארבא וזאדויא ודזאונויא בנה חינדויתא ומן חידנויתא (*sic*) [ומ]ן ביתה
ומן ארסה ומן (10) [זאוא]ין ומן בנאין ומן בנאתון ומן חיוניאתון עסירא וסדימא ומסאגמא
ורנילא עסתרא רבתיא דאר . . זתאיון . . . (11) [ותלת]מא ושיתין שורבאתא דשביקלה
באתאר אתאר עסיר[יא] כולחין חומריא דשאריא בבתאין דאנאשיא ומחרבאלחון
(12) עסירא ורנילא וכבישא וסיפא ומאתנא תותיא ליגרה דמארבא בר חינדויתא ואתותיא
ליגרה דזאדויא ודודזאונויא בנה דחינדויתא . . (13) ואתותיא ליגרה דחינדויתא פת
דודאי וחיא זאזיא אסותא וזארזתא וחתמאתא ונטרתא תחוילה לפגראיון ולזאואיון
ולבנאיון ולב[נאתו]ן ולחיוניא[תון (14) ולא]נאשיא באתאיון ולאילין ולנאפקין ע[ל]
מראבא ודזאדויא ודדזאונויא בנה חינדויתא ולחינדוי[תא פת] דודאי עמאיון ולבנאתה

Exterior

(15) קדש ייתי

Translation

Charmed, armed and equipped are the house, (2) the dwelling and mansion and barn, and the sons and daughters, (3) and the cattle and household vessels of Hinduithâ (4) bath Dôdâi and (of) Mârâdâ, even her husband and her sons and daughters.

Charmed art thou, (5) Lilith Yannâi, and all thy Broods, even the three hundred and sixty (6) Broods, by the word and command of the angel Negoznâi, by the mysteries and ordinance (7) of the living God, in the name

of the virtue of strong and mighty Deity, and by the seal (8) of the angel Be'ôdâi, whose word none transgresses.

Charmed are all the Gods and Temple-spirits and Shrine-spirits and Idol-spirits (9) and Ishtars from the body of Mârabbâ and Zâdôyê and Dazaunôyê sons of Hinduîthâ, and from Hinduîthâ and from her house and her bed and from (10) their [wives] and their sons and their daughters and their cattle.

Charmed and confined and restrained and hobbled is the mighty Ištar (11) and the three hundred and sixty Broods, which I have dismissed from her one after the other.

Charmed are all the Amulet-spirits that dwell in the houses of men and waste them; (12) charmed and hobbled and suppressed and covered and squeezed under the foot of Mârabba bar Hinduîthâ and under the foot of Zâdôyê and Dazaunôyê sons of Hinduîthâ, (13) and under the foot of Hinduîthâ b. D. And life, abundance, health and arming and sealing and protection be to their body, and their wives and their sons and their daughters and their cattle (14) and the people of their houses, both those entering and departing with Mârabba and Zâdôyê and Dazaunôyê sons of Hinduîthâ, and with Hinduîthâ b. D. their mother, and her daughters.

Exterior

(15) Holy (?)

Commentary

For the language and script of this and the following Mandaic bowls, see § 7.

A charm executed in behalf of a certain woman and her husband. The sons with their families are included by name. The charm is particularly addressed against a specified lilith, with whom "the mighty Ištar" who is named later, may be identical.

1. "House, dwelling," etc.: these four terms occur in Lidzb. 4 and 5. The היכל (which is found in the Mandaic literature in the original meaning) is here reduced from the sense of "temple, palace," as in Babylonian, to that of a private mansion. The word also appears in Hyvernat, l. 15. In 40: 4, בניאנא is the cattle-barn; in general perhaps "outbuilding."

2. בנה for the plur. w. suffix, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 144.

3. חיוניאתא: "cattle"; it occurs in the sense of "wild beast," in 39: 6; singular חיותא.

אנאתא: the singular would be the equivalent of the Assyrian *ânu*, "vessel," = Heb. אני and Arabic *inâ^{un}*. The word is otherwise unknown in Aramaic, having been replaced by the derivative *mân*. In the Talmud vessels are favorite abodes of the demons. One is tempted to regard the word as a plural of ענא, "sheep," but for the following "of the house."

חינדויתא: i. e. "Indian woman"; cf. חינדו, הנדו, 24: 1; 40: 16.

4. דודאי = דודי, Nos. 15, 21.— מראדא = *mâr*, "lord" + *Adda;* a form of Hadad; or the first element may be the deity Mar, Bir, etc. (see Clay, *Amurru*, 95), so that the name is equivalent to the ancient Damascene name ברהדד (as in Pognon's Zakar inscription), the Biblical Benhadad. With inexact construction, M. is the husband. For ו . . . ו = "both, and," cf. l. 14.

6. נגזנאי : so the probable reading. Notice from the erasure that "lilith" and "angel" are interchangeable titles for this being. Cf. the Lilith בוזנאי, 40: 17.

פאקתון: of same root as פקדתא, with assimilation of ד with ת; see Nöldeke, p. 44. The original formation is that of the Syriac noun *pâḳadtâ*.

8. בעודאי: a corruption of עבודיאל?—For עכוריא and פריכיא see p. 72 f. The second word is supplied from 40: 4.

9. מארבא: l. 14 מאראבא, in l. 12 with the second א caretted; an old theophorous name = אב + מר (or רבא + מר ?)

זאדויא : Persian Zâdôê, see Justi, p. 378, quoting a name of the fifth century.

דזאונויא : Persian name of a Syrian monk of the seventh century, *ibid.* 82.

10. סדימא: original root סתם (see Nöldeke, § 45); the verb is found in the bowls of Pognon and Lidzbarski, and defines the word as used in the Mandaic literature, thus relieving Nöldeke's doubt. Cf. a like series of passive ppls. at end of Lidzb. 4.

מסאנמא: the reading is almost certain, but I cannot identify the root; probably an error for מסאדמא, as in 40: 21.

רגילא: a denominative from רגל, = Rabbinic רגול. cf. the Arabic *ragala*, "strike, tie (a sheep) on the foot." The word occurs in Lidzb. 4.

11. שביקלה: the passage is identical with 40: 22, except for the latter's reading, שביקילה, "which I have dismissed from him"; the present text is to be so interpreted. For the form see Nöldeke, § 170.

מחרבאלחון = 40: 23. For the fem. pl. in א, see *ibid.*, 162.

12. סיפא = סחיפא, cf. *ibid.* 63; the Pael in 7: 17.

מאתנא: I can suggest only the root עטן, found in the Rabbinic עטין, "olive-press"; but according to Nöldeke, § 45, ע is persistent in Mandaic.

ודודואונויא: error by dittography for ודוי.

13. זאזיא: the Assyrian *zâzu*, abundance", Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Hwb.* i, 277, and identical with the Targumic זאזא, "foliage," Targum Job 14: 9. An archangel Zaziel appears in a papyrus published by Wessely, xlii, 65, l. 42.

חתמאתא: for חתאמתא.

14. דואדויא: with change of construction from the preposition על; cf. Nöldeke, § 222.—For omission of relative after בנה see p. 39.

15. (Exterior) קד is sure, perhaps קדש.

No. 39 (CBS 9005)

אסותא וזארזת[א ו]חתמתא ונטרתא (2) תחוילה ופ. . . ובגר[ה] ונישימתה (3) ולעולה
ובאטנה דַּברְדְסא דַּע[מה פ]ת דאדיא (4) עסיריא סחריא בסדיא פרזלה עסירא ליליאתא
(5) בשושלאתא דַּאבארא עסיריא דיויא זיכריא [חורא]שְׁיא ועסי[רא] ליליא לילִיאתא
(6) נוקבאתא חוראשאתא עסיריא ח[רשיא] אנשיא בישיא וחיואניא סאניא (7)
וראזיא בישיא וחזאר רְבָאניא חא[כי]מיא ורוְרביא דַּרוגזא ומשְׁריא דַּקיריא (8) דַּהוְ
דַּחיא מן עולה ובאטנה דַּברְדְס[א דַּ]עמ[ה] תְּירמיא פת דאדיא עסירא ליליתא
דַּמידאמיאלה (9) בס.קוּתא עסירא ליליתא דַּמידאמיאלה ב.רג דַּתאתא פת אחאתה עסיראן
כולחין דמואתא (10) סאינאתא דַּעל דְּמד[אמ]יאלא בחלמיא ליליא ובחזואניא דַּיאמיא
דַּאימאמא עסיריא וחתימיא בע[יזק]תא (11) דַּשלי[מו]ן למל מל[כא] . . . תום אסותא
וזארזתא וחתמתא תחוילה לבאטנה ולמודאלה דַּבר[דְסא] (12) דַּעמ[ה תירמיא] פת
דא[דיא]

Translation

Health and arming and sealing and protection (2) be for ... and the body and soul (3) and the unborn child and womb of Bardesâ whose mother is the daughter of Dâdê. (4) Charmed are the Sorcery-spirits in stocks of iron; charmed the Lilith (5) in chains of lead; charmed the empoisoning male Devils and charmed the empoisoning female Liliths; (6) charmed [the arts of?] evil men and hostile Beasts, (7) and evil Mysteries and the (magic) Circle of malignant Masters and Sages and Doctors, and the melting of Wax figures (8) of him who is alive: from the unborn child and womb of Bardesâ whose mother is Termê b. D.

Charmed the Lilith that appears to her (9) in ...; charmed the Lilith that appears to her in [shape?] of Tâtâ her sister's daughter; charmed all the defiling Ghosts (10) that have entered, which appear to her in Dreams of night and in Visions of day; charmed and sealed with the seal of (11) King Solomon.

Again: Health and arming and sealing be for the womb and the parturition of Bardesâ (12) whose mother is Termê b. D.

Commentary

A charm for a pregnant woman. I may compare the mortuary incantation published by me in *JAOS,* 1911, *272,* no. 1, which includes prayers for the unborn child, עולה, of the petitioner. From l. 4 the present charm is very similar to that in Pognon A.

2. דאדיא: so in Pognon B, in Lidzb. 5, דאדע; a feminine form in -ê, cf. תירמיא, l. 8 (the mother's name, overlooked here). Cf. דאדה, 12: 2.

4. סחריא: also Pognon A. In the Mandaic appear the סאחרא, "sorcerers," Norberg, *Onom.,* 110. For the meaning cf. Ass. *sâḫiru;* in this sense the root is not otherwise found in Rabbinic and Syriac.

סאדיא פ׳: Pognon's text, סאדדיא (to be cited to Nöldeke, § 89, 1a),

5. אבארא: the Syriac אברא was used for "lead" and "tin," according to the Syriac lexicographers, who postulate a distinction between *abârâ* and *abrâ,* or *abârâ* and *ebârâ* but dispute which word is applied to which metal (Payne-Smith, col. 19). Both lead and tin were used in magic, the former especially in the *κατάδεσμοι*, like the love-charm from Hadrumetum, the Cypriote *defixiones* (*SPBA,* xiii, 160, etc.), and cf. Index to Wessely, xlii, *μόλιβον, et seq.;* tin was equally used, like all the metals, *ibid., κασσιτερινόν,* and a case in the Testament of Solomon where tin is atropaic, *JQR,* ix, 584. Hence we cannot positively decide whether our *abâr* is lead or tin; but the weight of the former metal may better suit the symbolism of the language. —As to the meaning of the Assyrian *abar* Assyriologists are at variance. Lenormant, in *TSBA,* vi, 337 f., 346, argues correctly from the alloy mentioned in iv R no. 2, rev. 17, that *abar* = lead and *anaku* = tin. However Sayce, *Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions,* p. 60, denies that the Sumerian or Assyrian word for tin is known. Lyon, in his *Keilschrifttexte Sargons,* 53, 82, makes *anaku* = lead (cft. Heb. אנך) and leaves *abar* untranslated. Hilprecht and Haupt, on basis of chemical analysis, find that *abar* is used of magnesite, Hilprecht, *Assyriaca,* 80 ff., 83. עפרת, the Hebrew equivalent of the Aramaic אברא, is "lead." The Syriac *'ânᵉka* is "tin," whereas its Hebrew equivalent אנך, "plummet" rather suggests the heavier metal lead. The Hebrew for "tin" is בדיל, which however in Zech. 4: 10 may rather be "lead." This confusion between lead and tin in the same word is paralleled by the ambiguous use of *plumbum* in Latin;

p. nigrum is lead, and *p. candidum* tin; see Pliny *H. N.*, xxxiv, 47 (ed. Weise, 1841); so also in Arabic. The different vocalizations *'abrâ* and, עפרת *vs. 'abârâ,* and Heb. *'anâk vs.* Syr. *'ânᵉka,* appear to be attempts at differentiation. עפרת, apparently "lead," appears in W. T. Ellis's bowl-text, which I have edited in *JAOS,* 1912, 434.

5. חוראשיא: amendment after Pognon's parallel, but with the form found in l. 6.

לילא לי: an inadvertent repetition.

6. חוראשאתא for the adjectival formation, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 105.

חיואניא: possibly absolute pl. (*-â* from *-ân*); or a masc. plural form, cf. חומריא, 38: 11.

7. חזאר: (n. b. construct) for חדאר, as in זיכריא, see Nöldeke, *ibid.,* § 46. I interpret the word of the magic circle, part of the dreaded arts of the necromancer; see p. 88.

רבאניא וני: sorcerers are by tradition "Doctors."

משריא דקיריא: מי may be inf. Peal of שרא, or better, in agreement with the context, Pael ppl. plur; i. e. "dissolution," or "dissolvers." קי is "wax" in Rabbinic, "pitch" in Syriac and Mandaic, at least according to the references in Payne-Smith and Norberg. "Pitch" might be the translation here, but comparing the plural with the Greek κηροί and the Latin *cerai,* I have related the word to the well-known use of wax in Hellenistic magic. Any plastic substance might be used for these simulacra of the enemy in Babylonian sorcery. Tallquist enumerates clay, pitch, honey, tallow, dough (*Maḳlu,* 19, and see his note to ZAL. LU, p. 119); so also Fossey, *Magie ass.,* 80. Wax does not seem to be identified among those substances, though Jastrow and Thompson speak of wax as used. Assyrian *kîru* or *ḳîru* (see Muss-Arnolt, p. 432) = pitch. Is the Latin-Greek word from the same origin, the term having undergone extensive modification in meaning? Its etymology is uncertain, see A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*², 1910, *s. v. cera.* For the use of wax in western magic, see the ample notes and bibliography in Abt, *Die Apologie d. Apuleius,* 82.

חו דחיא: cf. the isolated instance given by Nöldeke, p. 344.

8. תירמיא: the first letter is conjectured from a mere remnant; possibly *Θερμία?*

9. In this line a definite family ghost appears. דמותא is used in like sense in earlier bowls, e. g. 7: 14. The word before תאתא is unintelligible.

תאתא: cf. the feminine name Tatâ in Strassmeier, *Inschriften von Darius,* no. 25, 12; also Tatta-dannu, Strassmeier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus,* no. 343, 8, and Tâtû, etc. in Johns, *Assyrian Deeds,* 450, Clay, *BE,* x, Glossary; טאטי 25: 1.

10. סאינאתא: I connect this, as a participle, with the root סין, Arabic *šâna,* which does not appear as a verb in Syriac; from it comes the Syriac *s^{e}yânâ,* "dirt," and with the same is to be connected the Hebrew סאון, "shoe." The same word, masc. and fem., occurs in Pognon A, p. 40, which he would derive from סנא "hate," but without explanation of the form. It might, if a singular instance, be an error for סאניאתא. However n. b. that in Sachau's Elephantine papyri occurs the metathesis סאן for סנא, Pap. 57: 2, 58: 16.

על: 3d fem. pl. of עלל.

יאמיא: a mistake, corrected by the next word. The same note is to be made upon למל in l. 11.

11. תום: doubtless = תוב, "again," so often found on our bowls. Thus Nöldeke's explanation of תום in the Mandaic literature (*Mand. Gram.,* 204) is confirmed.— מודאלה for the form, see *ibid.,* § 67.

No. 40 (CBS 2971)

בשומאיון ד̇חייא ואסותא (2) וזרזתא תחוילה לפגרה וזאוה ובנה (3) זיכריא ובנאתה נוקבאתא ובאיתה ודורה וחיכלה (4) [ו]ביניאנא ד̇חיואניאתא חמרא תות̇א תורא וענזא חזורה (5) ד̇אכסארו בר [מח]אנוש מן חייא אשבית אלאיכון ומומינאליכון (6) אלא חייא.....

.....

(12) ותברתינכון בבאבה כסארו בר מחאנוש גברא ורזאוה . . . ליליאתא כד̇ מחזיא בה̇ בבאיתה כסארו (13) בר מחאנוש מן חייא ואסותא וזרזתא וחתמתא ט ונטרתא . . . [בנה] זיכריא ובנאתה נוקבאתא ובאיתה (14) ודורה חיכלה וביניאנא ד̇חמרא תורא וענזא חזורא חי[יא ד̇אכסארו בר מחאנוש] מן חייא ואסותא תח[ויל]ה (15) לפגרה יבנה זיכריא ובנאתה [נוקבאת]א ובאיתה ודורה וחיכלה

Exterior

(16) ד̇מראתאי פת חינדו מן חייא ואסותא תחוילה ופגרה כסארו וזאוה ובנה זיכריא [ובנאתה נוקבאתא ובאיתה ודורה] וחיכלה וביניאנה וחיואניאתה (17) ד̇אכסארו בר מחאנוש מן חייא עסירית אנאת בוזנאי ליליתא וכולחין [עסתראתא] ... ותלתמא ושיתין שורבאתא (18) במנלתה פת פתה בוזנאי מלאכא בדאלאיון אלא חייא ובפקדתאיון ... ד̇חוא לואת בוזנאי (19) תקיפא בחתמא ד̇דרוא מלאכא ד̇כול עניש לאבאר על מלאלה עסיריא [כולחין אלחיא] . . . ועכוריא ופריכיא (20) [ו]עיסתראתא מן פגרה ומן זאוה ומן בנה ומן בנאתה ו[מן באי]תה ומן ד[ורה ומן חיכ]לה [ומן ביניא]נה ד̇אכסארו בר (21) מחאנוש עסיר[א וסדי]מא ומסדמא ור[נ]ילא עס[תר] . . . ותלתמא ושיתין שורבאתא (22) [ד̇]שביקילה נ. . . באתאר א[תאר עסיריא] כולחין חומריא ד̇שאריא בבאיתאיון (23) [ו]מחרבאלון [ע]סיר[א ורגילא] וכביש[א]... וסיפא סטאנא ומחותא... [מן פ]גרה (24) ד̇גברא וזוה .'. . ובנה זיכריא ובנאתה נוקב[את]א (25) באיתה וב ודור[ה וחי]כלה וביניאנה (*sic*) ח[יוא]ניאתה ד̇[אכסארו] בר מחאנוש מן חייא (26) וחייא זאכיאן

Translation

In the name of Life!—that health (2) and armament be to the body and wife and male sons (3) and female daughters, and the house and

abode, the mansion (4) and the barn of the cattle, the ass, bull and goat, the property of (5) Xârô bar Mehanôš, from Life.

I swear and adjure you (6) by Life.

.

(12) and I have broken you in the gate of Xaro b. M., the man and his wife. [Health and protection, etc., from] the Liliths, when they appear in the house of Xaro (13) b. M., from Life. And health and armament and healing and guarding [be to] the male sons and female daughters and the house (14) and dwelling and mansion and the barn of the ass, bull and goat, the live (?) property of [Xaro b. M.], from Life. And health and armament (15) be to the body and the male sons and female daughters and the house and dwelling and mansion of (16) Merâthê daughter of Hindû, from Life. And health be to the body of Xârô ... and the wife and male sons [and female daughters and the house and dwelling] and mansion and building and cattle (17) of Xaro b. M., from Life.

Charmed art thou, Lilith Buznâi, and all the goddesses ... and the three hundred and sixty Tribes, (18) by the word of the granddaughter of the angel Buznâi, by the adjuration (?) of Life, and by the command of ... who is (?) with the mighty Buznâi, (19) by the seal of the angel Darwâ (?), whose word none transgresses. Charmed are a[ll the gods ... and] temple-spirits and shrine-spirits (20) and goddesses from the body and the wife and sons and daughters and the house and dwelling and mansion and barn of Xaro b. (21) M. Charmed, shut up and confined and hobbled is the Ish[tar] ..., and the three hundred and sixty Tribes, (22) which I have dismissed from him ... one after [the other. Charmed] are all Amulet-spirits which lodge in their houses (23) and devastate them. Charmed [and hobbled] and suppressed and covered is the Satan (?) and the Plague ... [from] the body (24) of the man and his wife ... and the male sons and the female daughters, (25) the house and dwelling and mansion and the barn for cattle, of Xaro b. M., from Life. (26) And Life is victorious!

Commentary

A long and repetitious charm for a certain man and his family and property, including the several kinds of live-stock. About half of the inscription is found on the exterior.

1. With the same invocation begin the sections of the Ginza, also some of Pognon's bowls.

ואסותא: for ו of purpose, see the like phrase in Pognon, e. g. no. 14, and Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 293.

4. ביניאנא: as the regimen shows, the barn.

חמרא: i. e. *ḥemrâ*, also cited by Syriac lexicographers, see Payne-Smith, *ad loc.*, and used as a collective plural, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, 91. The following word was written תותא, ר was then caretted above, and finally the word rewritten.

ענזא : to be added to Nöldeke's instances, *Mand. Gram.*, § 68, and now found in Sachau's recently published papyri from Elephantine. ענז is found in names of certain goat-species, Payne-Smith, col. 2934.

חזזרא: for חצי, cf. Nöldeke, *ibid.*, § 47. The word is used like the Talmudic חָצֵר, "private property," see Jastrow, *Dict.*, *s. v.* In l. 14 it is supplemented apparently by חייא, = "livestock."

5. כסארו : evidently an old Persian name in *Koseform;* cf. Axseri, Xšayarša, Artaxsathra, Justi, pp. 12, 173, 34. The א in דאכי, here and again below, represents the vowel of the prefix, before the vowelless first radical.

מחאנוש = Meh = Mithra, *plus* Anôš, a Persian genius, Justi, pp. 208, 17.

מן חייא : the long period which this phrase concludes is paralleled below.

אלאיכון: this ancient and full form of the preposition appears in Pognon B, but not in Nöldeke, under § 159.

6. אלא חייא: cf. l. 18, בראלאיון אלא חייא. אי = the preposition just noted, and is used uniquely with a verb of swearing, where in the Semitic ב is found. Cf. the Greek ἐπί, representing, as in the English "swear on the Bible," the primitive action of laying the hand on the sacred object.

16. מראתי ?—17. בוזנאי : cf. נגוזנאי, 38: 6.

18. This antagonism of Buznâi's granddaughter to herself is evidently a case of casting out devils by Beelzebub. The sorcerer affects that he has received from one of her brood the proper charms by which to bind her. Observe interchange of מלאכא with לילית.

בראלאיון וכו׳ : "by that which is upon," i. e. "by the adjuration of" Life. For the redoubled preposition, see Nöldeke, § 231 b. For the phrase, see to l. 6.

פקדתאיון: for the sing. with איון—, see *ibid.*, § 146.

23. סטאנא: but a feminine is demanded.

מחותא: in agreement with the Syriac; cf. מחתא, 16: 6; in the Ginza, מחיתא.

26. חייא זאביאן: the same doxological formula in Pognon, B, no. 22, and Lidzb. 5.

APPENDIX

No. 41 (CBS 179)

This text is unique,[1] being inscribed on the top of a human skull. Enough is legible to indicate that it is a magical inscription, doubtless of the same order as those on the bowls. The skull is remarkably well preserved, and though badly shattered, almost all the pieces have been recovered. But the text is sadly worn and obscured through the shaling of the surface, and only a few detached words are legible. There are two inscriptions, one running across the length of the left-hand side of the top, from front to back and also filling up some space in the forward part of the right-hand side. The other, shorter, inscription is at the back of the right-hand side, at right angles to the central suture.

In the first line of the longer text are visible the words, ללתא, רוחין; in the second אנת רוח, indicating an address to the evil spirit. The following names are visible: פרוך, cf. 5: 1; (?) מרדכי בן ישאל, also spelt מו׳, "Mordecai ben Saul"; and a woman's name (evidently the wife of the first-named man— בעלה can be read in one place), נספי, so the almost certain reading. I take the name to be a feminine hypocoristic in *-âi* to be connected with Gathaspar, in the *Excerpta barbara* to Eusebius (ed. Schoene, i, app. 228), one of the three Wise Men, the later Gaspar (Caspar, Jaspar), connected by philologists with the Old-Persian Windafarna; Justi, p. 368.

The use of a skull for recording a magical inscription opens up an interesting line of magical practice. The skull has become part of the stock apparatus of the necromancer, and its use in that connection is typical of his power over the dead, while the presence of the gruesome object adds to the awe in which he is held. But all through magic runs the morbid theme of the use of mortuary remains. In the Greek love charms, the texts are buried in the graveyard; in the magic brews for compelling love,

[1] This statement must now be qualified, as I learn through Professor Ranke that two similar skulls are in the Berlin Museum.

human bones are used, and in a late Arabic charm a broom from a cemetery has efficacy in bringing the beloved to the lover's side (see to No. 28). Cf. the burial of Pognon's bowls in a cemetery. Primitive animistic beliefs have survived, which connect the skeleton with the world of spirits; it is a material *point d'appui,* and the skull is especially preferred as the most striking and perhaps most durable part of the anatomy.[2] It may be noticed that in Arabic the word for skull is also used of the soul (Wellh. *Skizzen,* 3, p. 161, 164),[2] There is a reference in the Talmud to the necromantic use of a skull; *Sanh.* 65b: "there are two kinds of necromancy (בעל אוב), the one where the dead is raised by naming him, the other where he is asked by means of a skull (בגלגלת הנשאל)." Joel (*Aberglaube,* i, 44) thinks this refers to some artificial skull-shaped object; but our actual skull illustrates the practice noticed in the Talmud. The use of skulls (*calvaria*) in classical magic is also vouched for in the Apology of Apuleius; see Abt, p. 141. For this practice of "speaking skulls," we may note its special vogue among the Sabians; see Chwolson, *Die Ssabier,* ii, 150, and Dozy and de Goeje, *Actes* of the Leyden (6th) Congress of Orientalists, ii, 365 f., cf. 293.

But the skull was also efficacious as a prophylactic object. James of Edessa notes that a dried human head was used by the heathen Syrians as an amulet (quoted by Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites,* 362, referring to Kayser's edition of the *Canones,* p. 142). Especially as part of the skeleton was it efficacious against the evil eye; see Seligmann, *Der böse Blick,* ii, 141, who notes the use in Italy of a tiny skull-charm against the *Jettatura,* and also the use among the ancient Taurians and the tribes of Caucasus of the heads of enemies stuck on poles as a prophylactic; also Elworthy, *The Evil Eye,* 340, notes the use of skeleton-like figures as talismans in Italy; he finds the same talisman in classic times, comparing King, *Gnostics and their Remains,* 213 (ed. 2, 180). The skull therefore falls into the general category of frightful or obscene objects, which had the power of repelling the evil eye in particular and evil spirits in general.

[2] Dr. Speck, of the Museum, informs me that the North American Indians carefully preserve the skulls of the animals they hunt, as a means of the reincarnation of the beasts, and I understand like customs are found over the world.

No. 42

Towards the close of my work on this volume, Professor Richard Gottheil, who had several years ago thought of publishing the bowls, kindly forwarded me some notes and transcriptions which he had made in his preliminary essays. Among the papers was the copy of a text which is not now found in the Museum. It differed so radically from the other inscriptions that I inquired of Prof. Gottheil if it was taken from a bowl. He replied that he knew of no other source whence the text could have come into his set of papers. Accordingly on the hypothesis that the original text was once in the Museum, I venture to publish Prof. Gottheil's copy, and do so the more readily because of its interesting character and the illustration it affords to several points in the texts above. It contains a form of the Lilith legend, widespread in folklore, and a bowl would have been a perfectly proper place for a text of this prophylactic character. I have not however included the text in my Glossaries.

שדי

סנוי סנסנוי סמנגלף אדם יהוה קדמונה חיין לילית

בשם ייי אלהי ישראל יושב הכרובים ששמו חי וקים לעד · אליהו הנביא היה הולך בדרך ופגע בלילית הרשעה ובכל כת דילה אמר לה אן את הולכת טמאה ורוח הטומאה וכל כת דילך טמאים הולכים · ותען ותאמר לו אדוני אליהו אנכי הולכת לבית היולדה מירקאדה ד'מ ויאידה כת דונה לתת לה שינת המות ולקחת את ילדה הנולד לה למצוץ דמו ולמצוץ מוח עצמותיו ולחתם את בשרו ויאמר לה אליהו הנביא ז"ל [זכרו לברכה] בחרם מאת השם יתברך עצורה תהיה וכאבן דומה תהיה · ותען ותאמר לו למען ייי תתירכי מן החרם ואנכי אברח ואשבע לך בשם ייי אלהי ישראל לעזוב הדברים אלו מה יולתת (*sic*) הזאות ומולדה הנולד לה ומכל שכן להזיק וכל זמן שמזכירים או אני רואה את שמותי כתובים לא יהיה לי וכל כת דילי כח להרע ולהזיק ואלו הן שמותי : לילית : אביטר . אביקר : אמורפו הקש אודם : איכפידו : איילו : כיטרוטה : אבנוקטה : שטריהה : קלי : תלתוי : ריטשש : והשיב לה אליהו

הנביא ז"ל ואמר לה הריני משביעך ולכל כת דילך בשם ויי אלהי ישראל גי"ם תריג אברהם יצחק ויעקוב ובשם שכינתו הקדושה ובשם עשרה שרפים אופנים וחיות הקדש ועשרה ספרי תורה ובכח אלהי הצבאות ב"ה שלא תלכי לא את ולא מכת דילך להזיק את היולדת הזאת או את ולדה הנולד לה לא לשתות את דמו לא למצוץ מח עצמותיו ולא לחתם את בשרו ולא ליגע בהם לא ברו"נ אבריהן ולא בשם"ה גידיהן וערקיהן כמו שאינה יכולה לספור את כוכבי השמים ולא להוביש את מי הים בשם קרע שטן חסדיאל שמריאל

Accompanying the text are given some inscribed designs and phrases. A rough figure of a hand (prophylactic against the evil eye) contains the Aramaic legend:

אנא מזרעי דיוסף קא (? הא =) אתינא ולא שלטא ביה שנא בישא :

"I am the seed-producer (?) of Joseph; when I come, an evil year cannot prevail over him,"—a play of thought between Joseph as controller of the fertility of Egypt and the fertility of the family, and as a good omen for the expectant mother.

A "David's Shield" contains in the center יאה דונהי, a fanciful form of Adonai, on the left hand שטן, "Satan," in another division אבג and nearby יתין (?), i. e. אבגיתין, to be found in Schwab, *Vocab.* Another species of the shield more roughly designed contains יהוה in the center, flanked with יה, etc. and אדני, with מטטרון and סנדלפון on either side. The changes are rung on the possible mutations of ילק, and the scripture Dt. 28: 10 is cited. Similar charms against the Lilith are to be found at the end of *Sefer Raziel* and in Buxtorf's *Lexicon, s. v.*

Translation

Shaddai

Sanui Sansanui Semniglaph Adam YHWH Kadmon Life Lilith

In the name of Y" the God of Israel who besits the cherubs, whose name is living and enduring forever. Elija the prophet was walking in the road and he met the wicked Lilith and all her band. He said to her, Where art thou going, Foul one and Spirit of foulness, with all thy foul band walking along? And she answered and said to him: My lord Elija, I

am going to the house of the woman in childbirth who is in pangs (?), of So-and-so daughter of Such-a-one, to give her the sleep of death and to take the child she is bearing, to suck his blood and to suck the marrow of his bones and to devour his flesh. And said Elija the prophet——blessed his name!—With a ban from the Name—bless it!—shalt thou be restrained and like a stone shalt thou be! And she answered and said to him: For the sake of Y" postpone the ban and I will flee, and will swear to thee in the name of Y" God of Israel that I will let go this business in the case of this woman in childbirth and the child to be born to her and every inmate so as do no injury. And every time that they repeat or I see my names written, it will not be in the power of me or of all my band to do evil or harm. And these are my names: Lilith, Abitar (Abito?), Abikar (Abiko?), Amorpho, Hakaš, Odam, Kephido, Ailo, Matrota, Abnukta, Šatriha, Kali, Batzeh, Taltui, Kitša. And Elija answered and said to her: Lo, I adjure thee and all thy band, in the name of Y" God of Israel, by gematria 613, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and in the name of his holy Shekina, and in the name of the ten holy Seraphs, the Wheels and the holy Beasts and the Ten Books of the Law, and by the might of the God of Hosts, blessed is he!—that thou come not, thou nor thy band to injure this woman or the child she is bearing, nor to drink his blood nor to suck the marrow of his bones nor to devour his flesh, nor to touch them neither in their 256 limbs nor in their 365 ligaments and veins, even as she is (= thou art?) not able to count the number of the stars of heaven nor to dry up the water of the sea. In the name of: 'Hasdiel Šamriel has rent Satan.'

Commentary

Only a few detailed notes are necessary. Of the terms at the beginning, סנוי סנסנוי and סמנגלף are common in childbirth charms (see Schwab. *Vocab., s. vv.*). The second is erroneously explained by Schwab; it is שם נ', the inscribed Name, cf. the שם ... גליף in 11: 9. סנוי and its reduplication סנסנוי probably mean "divorced."

N. B. the order of Adam, Yhwh, Kadmon.

מירקאדא ד׳מ(ירקאדא) is obscure to me. The root is probably used in the Syriac sense of mourning, hence supplicating; or cf. Heb. חיל, "writhe," as well as "dance."

יאידא כת דונה I would read as אידה בת דינה, the first as the indefinite pronoun fem. *quaequae*, the last as representing the Greek δεῖνα, which is commonly used in the papyri, the actual name being inserted upon use.

חתם = חטף, cf. Arabic קטם.

Of the names of the Lilith the second = Abatur the Mandaic genius (see Glossary A); but the possible reading of the copy, Abito, may be preferable, in view of the Greek parallels; see below; the third is the Greek ἀμορφος.

613: the figure is the gematriac sum of 'the Lord God of Israel,' as also the number of positive and negative commandments of the Law. As Mr. A. Simon, Harrison Fellow of the University, has suggested to me, the preceding abbreviation stands for גימטריא.

The "256 limbs" are 248 in Jewish lore. For the 365 ligaments, cf. the identical expression in a charm given by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 295.

The 10 Books of the Law are the double of the Pentateuch; cf. the Eighth Book of Moses in the Leyden MS. which Dieterich has published at the end of his *Abraxas*.

The very ancient use of epical narrative as an efficient magical charm was described above p. 62; thus the mere narrative of a demon's power, as in the case of Dibbarra, is potent, or, *à fortiori*, the relation of a triumph over the evil spirit from some sacred legend. In the present case we have the added virtue of the revelation of the demon's names, and she swears that whenever they confront her, she will retire; the knowledge of her names binds her (cf. p. 56).

Dr. M. Gaster has published in *Folk-lore* xi (whole number xlvi), 129, an interesting paper entitled 'Two Thousand Years of a Charm Against the Child-Stealing Witch." The latter uncanny spirit has already met us in several of our preceding texts (Nos. 11, 18, 36, etc.). Dr. Gaster surveys a wide material of European and Semitic forms of this magical narrative, all of which have evidently the same root. He draws on Slavonic, Roumanian and modern Greek legends, and cites one of Gollancz's Syrian charms, a collection to which I have had frequent occasion to refer,[1] and also quotes

[1] In *Actes* of the 8th International Congress of Orientalists, Sect. 4, p. 77. Most of these charms are in the narrative style. Cf. also a similar Syriac charm given by Hazard, *JAOS*, xv, 286 f.

in translation a Jewish charm of the same order from the *Mystery of the Lord* (in the Hebrew סוד יי, a book I have not been able to obtain).

This Jewish legend is almost identical with ours. It is considerably shorter, concluding with the names of the Lilith and a direction to hang up the names in the room of the woman concerned. The names are almost identical with those in our text; they are: Satrina, Lilith, Abito, Amizo, Izorpo, Koko, Odam, Ita, Podo, Eilo, Patrota, Abiko, Kea, Kali, Batna, Talto, Partasah. My form Amorpho is probably older; Koko =*κακός* may be preferable to my Kaš.

In both these Jewish forms Elija and the Lilith are the actors. In the Syriac legend quoted by Gaster from Gollancz, it is a saint Mar Ebedishu and the Evil Spirit in the likeness of an ugly woman who are the characters; the latter has for one of her names that of "the Strangling-mother of children" (cf. above to 36: 4). In the European Christian legends, the benevolent actor is the Virgin, Michael, or a certain saint bearing the name Sisoe, or Sisynios. These names are derived from the Jewish סנוי סנסנוי, as Gaster suggests. In the Greek legend the spirit is Gylo, the earlier Γελλω, which appears also in the magical papyri.[2] In all children are the object of the fiend's ravages, in one case the charm is for a boy afflicted with cataract.

There are some other simpler forms of this legend contained in Greek manuscript amulets which were not accessible to Dr. Gaster. In his *Poimandres,* p. 298, Reitzenstein publishes a text which is the earlier prototype of the Roumanian folk-legend published by Gaster, p. 132. It reads: "When the archangel Michael came down from heaven, there met him the impure spirit with her hair down her back and her eyes inflamed. And the archangel Michael said to her: Whence comest and whither goest thou? The impure one answered and said to him: I go to enter the house as a serpent, dragon, reptile, I change into a quadruped, I go to make the plagues of women, to humble their heart, to dry up the milk, to raise the hair of the master of the house and then I kill them. For my name is called Paxarea. For when the Holy Mary bore the Word of Truth

[2] Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften,* xlii, 66, also Γυλου, Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 298. For Gello = the Assyrian Gallu, see Frank, *ZA,* xxiv, 161.

I went to deceive her and ..?..[3] And the archangel Michael seized her by the locks on the right hand and said to her: Tell me thy twelve names.[4] And she said: I am called first Gelou, second Morphous, (third, etc.) Karanichos, Amixous, Amidazou, Marmalat, Karane, Selenous, Abiza, Ariane, Maran. Wherever are found my twelve names and thy name, archangel Michael, and thy name Sisinios and Sinodoros, I will not enter into the house of such a one." Compare also the amulet given on the preceding page in Reitzenstein (p. 297), lacking the reference to the Virgin, the demon enumerating her plagues.

A similar legend, in large part identical with both these just named, is given in the Greek-Italian charms published by Pradel.[5] In this Michael descending from Sinai meets the hag Abuzou[6] and the demons cast out of heaven. He inquires where she is going; she answers she crawls into houses like a serpent, dragon, etc., to bring all evils on men, to dry up the mother's milk, to wake the children and kill them. Then, evidently a Christian accretion, she causes faction in the church, sends floods, destroys ships. Michael asks her her name, which is Pataxaro. He asks for her many names. She swears by the throne of God and the eye (= eyes) of the Beasts (cf. the oath in our text) that she will tell the truth. She then gives forty names, the first two of which are Gilou, Morphou.

The legend sometimes ran out into the line of particular diseases, e. g. cataract, as in one of the Roumanian forms; or Beelzebub and other demons are named, as in an amulet in Vassiliev, *Anecdota byzantina*, i, 336. But the story of the wife-hating, child-murdering hag is the original element, as Gaster points out.

We thus possess forms of the legend in Hebrew and Syriac, in Greek texts of eastern and western Europe, and in modern Roumanian and Slavonic folklore, while the heroes of the epic include Elijah, Michael, Christ and various saints known or obscure. The persistency of the form appears also in the charm names. To compare the lists in the two Hebrew texts and in the two of Wendland and Pradel respectively and in Gollancz

[3] Cf. the early Christian myth of the devil's wiles, *Rev.* 12.

[4] The same number is found in the Hekate-Isis legend.

[5] *Griechische u. süd.- italienische Gebete*, 23.

[6] The Avezuba and Avestitza in Gaster's Roumanian legends.

(Syriac), we find that the initial Hebrew Lilith = Greek Gelou or Gilou = Syriac Geos, doubtless = Gelos. The second in the Hebrew, Abito (Abitar?) = Apiton the ninth in the Syriac; the third, Abiko (Abikar?) = Abiza or Abuzou in the Greek texts, and as we observed above Avezuba in the Roumanian. The fourth Amorpho (in our text) = Morphous or Morphou having third place in the Greek texts, and Martlos, 4th in the Syriac. Amorpho is doubtless the Greek ἀμορφος, "shapeless," and our Jewish text alone has preserved the correct form. Eilo and its obscure predecessor in the Hebrew may be found in Pradel's Morpheilaton, and the latter's Phlegumon may translate the Hebrew קלי.

It is impossible to place our phylactery genealogically in such a mass of interrelated material. The Jewish text doubtless depends upon Greek tradition with its magical name Amorpho and its transliteration of δεῖνα, while the later Greek forms have borrowed from the Hebrew in St. Sisynios. But the source of the legend is the common property of mankind, with roots as ancient as the Babylonian Labartu and Gallu. A child-killing demon which sucks babes' blood, etc., is found in Africa; see Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection,* i, 285, a reference pointed out to me by Professor Jastrow. In the Hellenistic magic a classical form of such legend was established out of all the elements that were brought together in that age, and this spread again assuming its variant forms among the peoples and faiths. If our text actually came from Nippur, it is of interest as the earliest form of the Jewish legend and as one which can be dated with approximate accuracy.

Corrections and Additions

P. 20, line 4: read "Berlin" for "British."

P.20: add to the list of published Mandaic bowls the two photographic plates of bowls (plates1, 2) in J. de Morgan, *Études linguistiques,* vol. v, part 2, of his *Mission scientifique en Perse.*

P. 105, line 20: the Koran gives to the Mandaeans the same privileges as the Jews and the Christians (see 2: 59; 5: 73; 22: 17).

GLOSSARIES

GLOSSARY A

PERSONAL NAMES AND EPITHETS OF DEITIES, ANGELS, DEMONS, ETC.

GLOSSARY B

PROPER NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

GLOSSARY C

GENERAL GLOSSARY

Prefatory Note

Glossary C is arranged according to roots, the other two consonantally. The former indexes only the common nouns.

The citations of other authorities can be understood from § 2. The two publications of Pognon's are cited as "A" and "B", and Pognon's full glossaries will serve to locate all words of his texts. Where lines of texts are given, the reference is to the spiral line if facsimile is given, otherwise to the lines of the printed text. I have not thought it necessary to give the line citation for proper names even in my own texts, as they can be easily identified.

Under Glossary B, the following abbreviations are used: d. = daughter of, f. = father, h. = husband, m. = mother, s. = son, w. = wife.

Where a word appears in my text the first citation may be referred to for any treatment by the editor; references are also added to further discussions in the Introduction. Notes are occasionally added to words found in texts of other editors.

In Glossaries A and B all the occurrences are given with the exception of a few common divine names like יהוה; in Glossary C only typical citations and peculiar forms; also it has been the aim to give citations from the three dialects.

GLOSSARY A

PERSONAL NAMES AND EPITHETS OF DEITIES, ANGELS, DEMONS, ETC.

אבוגבאנא evil deity: Pogn B.

אבוגדאנא evil deity: Lidz 4, 5 (for these two names, see to 11: 5).

אבדא Destroyer 3.

אבהו divine name?: 7; Myhr.

אבטור Abatur, Mandaic genius: Ellis 1 (א' טורא); Wohls 2417 (אבוטור); see p. 96.

איבול deity (Apollo? Aeon?): 19.

איבולית feminine to above: *ib.*

אביר epithet of God: 8.

אברכס, אברכסים, אברכים Abrasax: 7 (= Myhr), 19, 34 (see pp. 57, 99).

אגדול mystic name: Schw F.

אגזריאל deity or angel: 19.

אגרבים "the holy Agrabis": 14.

אדאניאל angel: Schw I.

אדוני Adonai: 34; Pogn B.

אזדאי angel: Pogn B; Lidz 1.

אזזיאל angel: 19.

אזפא deity?: 19.

אחוד בת איתרא ghost: Wohls 2417.

אלא God: 18.

אלאל divine name: 13.

אלבנמין, אלבעבין mystical name?: Wohls 2422.

אלדדביה וגי mystical name: 5.

אלהא, אי God: 7, 16, etc.

אלהים Elohim: Ellis 1; Hyv.

אליאל angel: 10.

אילסור Ellis 1 (but see to 11: 4).

אל פנים El Panim: 8.

אלפסס name of Gabriel: Wohls 2422.

אל שדי El Shaddai: 8, 34, etc.

אמא demon (bath Imma): Wohls 2426.

אימי name of demon: Wohls 2416 = Stübe (see p. 77).

אמאתעמא a genius: Lidz 5 ("anathema"?).

אננרוס deity: 19.

אנד deity: 19.

אנפרת demon: Schw F (see p. 25).

אסתאנא Satan: Montg.

אספנדסדיוא Cpenta-dewa, name of Solomon's Jinn (see Grünbaum, *Zts. f. Keils.-forsch.*, ii, 224, Nöldeke, *ib.* 297).

אוסרא epithet of angel ("charmer"): Schw, *PSBA*, xii, 298.

אפטוקא Wohls 2422 (=אבטור?).

אצלצל angel: Wohls 2416.

אוקינוס Okeanos (?): 19.

אקף נקף נוקף series of mystical names: Schw F.

ארדיסבא deity: 19.
ארין deity: 19.
אריאל angel: 19; Schw I.
אוריאל angel: Stübe (Wohls l. חתיאל).
ארין deity?: 19; 34.
ארמסא, אירמים הרמים Hermes, see to 2: 2.
אירס a deity (Eros, Ares?): 19.
אישתקותקוף infernal genius: Pogn B (cf. Glossary C, שקף; but cf. *Aristikifa,* in Dillmann's text to Enoch 6: 7).
אית ghost: Schw 2417.

בי = Bel: 36.
ביאחיאל (?) angel: Schw G.
בגדאנא, בנדנא deity: 11, 18, 19, Montg.
בוזנאי lilith: 40.
בחלבס lilith: 18 (cf. חלבס).
בעודאי angel: 38.
ברחאל angel: Schw N.
ברכעיל angel: Pogn B.
ברקיאל angel: Wohls 2416.

גבריאל, גברייל, גברעיל Gabriel: 7; 34; etc. (see p. 96 f.).
גדריאל angel: 14.

דביא epithet of Hermes: 2.
דבאק angel: Pogn B (cf. טבאק).
דודיב demon: 36.
דליבת Dlibat = Dilbat, goddess of love: 28.
דומה mother of demon: Schw G.
דימיאל angel: Wohls 2416.

דנחיש demon: 19.
דנייל angel: Schw N.
דינימוסיתתא ghost: Schw 2417.
דרוא deity or angel: 40.
דרטוסיאל angel: Schw I.
דרקיאל angel: Schw I.
דושעיל angel: Pogn B.

הדריאל angel: Stübe (Wohls נידריאל).
הפביאל angel: Wohls 2416.
הרמים s. ארמסא.

זנד father of ארין: 19, 34.
זעוזא Zeus: 19.
זיקיאל angel: Wohls 2416.
זרני, זארנאי granddam of a lilith: 11 and parallels.

חבובית epithet of אדונאי: Pogn B.
חביאל angel: 13.
חטטריאל angel: Schw *PSBA,* xii, 298.
חיא, חייא Life, Mand. supreme deity: 40; Pogn A, B; Lidz 5.
חיות the Living Creatures: 8.
חיל ביש Evil Potency: 30.
חלבס, חבלסס, חלדאס lilith: 11 and parallels.
חאמיאל angel: Schwab, *l. c.*
חומיחיאל angel: Stübe = Wohls חנתיחיאל.
חמוצית demon: Schw G.
חמריאל angel: 35.
חניניאל angel: 13; Stübe.
חסדיאל angel: Schw N.
חושו ghost: Schw 2417.

חתיאל angel: Wohls 2416 (for Stübe's, אוריאל).
חתמיאל angel: 35.

טבק, טאבאק (cf. דבאק) angel: Pogn B.
טלסבוגי deity: 19.
טורא see אבטור.

יזיד, יודיד ghosts: Wohls 2417.
יהוה YAHWE *passim*.
יזדן, יאז angel: Pogn B; Lidz 1.
יאזדרן angel: Pogn B.
יאזרויא angel: *ib*.
יחיאל angel, or divine name: 25.
יאנאי lilith: 38.
יופיאל angel, or divine name: 25.
יקרן angel: Lidz 1; Pogn B.
יורבא Mandaic divine name: Pogn B.
יתבא angel, with "eleven names" following: Schw G.

כבשעיל angel: Pogn B.
כיטא the "heat" demon: 30: 2.
כסדיאל angel: Hyv (in כי עיסרא דכישדאי; cf. Kasdeya angel of evil arts, *Enoch* 69: 12).

ליויתן Leviathan: 2.

מדובינא demon: 37.
מהפכיאל angel: Wohls 2416.
מחזעיל angel: Pogn B.
מחבלא the Destroyer: 9.
ממנחיל angel: Schw G.
מיטטרון Metatron: 25; Wohls 2416.
מיכאל, מיכאיל Michael: 34, etc. (see p. 96 f.).
מלויאשין Signs of Zodiac: 4.
ממללא, מלילא, מללא the Word: 27, 19, 2 (see to 2: 2).
מימינוש deity?: 11.
מאנא, מן Mandaic genius: 19; Wohls 2422.
מנדינסן deity: 19.
מנטריאיל angel: 35.
מנירנש deity: 19.
מיצואה name of God: 29.
מר demon: Wohls 2416 (see p. 81).
מרנלא epithet of a deity: 19.
מות ghost: Wohls 2417.

נבאט Mandaic genius: Pogn. B.
ננוזנאי angel: 38.
נידריאל angel: Wohls 2416.
נהריאל angel: 14.
נטריאל angel: Schw *PSBA*, xii, 298.
ננאי god Nannai: 36.
נקרדוס deity: 19.
נוריאל angel: 35; Wohls 2416 (see p. 96).
נירינ god Nirig; 36; נירין: Ellis 1.

סודה name of God: Ellis 3.
סהרה, סיהרא, סירא (Mand) Moon: 34, Wohls 2416; Pogn B.
סחטעיל, etc. angel: Lidz 1; Pogn B.
סינא Sin: 36; Montg.
סחנודמוך deity: 19.
סטנא Satan: 2, etc.; סטאנא, 19; cf. אסתאנא.

סגניאל angel: Wohls 2416.

סר, סרא "the Prince": 5, 7 (see p. 97 f.).

סוריאל angel: 15; Schw I.

סרסמיאל angel: 14.

סרפיאל angel: 14, 19.

סרריאל angel: 15.

עזריאל angel: 8.

עיאל genius or angel: Schw F.

עניאל angel: Wohls 2416 (see Wohls p. 27, and Bousset, *Arch. f. Rel.-wiss.*, iv, 268).

עסאל, עסיאל: angel: 7; Myhr.

עסתר Istar, Mand. evil deity: Pogn B (a she-angel, nos. 14, 15); = name of lilith?: 38, 40.

עקריאל angel: 8.

עקרתא "Barrenness": 11.

ערביאל angel: Wohls 2416.

עורפאיל form of Raphael: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

פטרנינוס deity: 19.

פלג *idem.*

פלחס, פלחדד father and mother of demons: 8 (variants in 17).

פלניני deity: 19.

פלסא פליסא genius: 8.

פניאל angel.

פפריוס for Piriawis, Mand. genius: Pogn B.

פרעיל, פרועיל form of Raphael: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

פרקיאל angel: Wohls 2416.

צ' נורא; 8: ירוה צ', צבאות, 8.

צדיקיל angel: Schw N.

צנובית epithet of Adonai: Pogn B.

צור epithet of God: 8.

צוריאל angel: 14; Schw I.

ציר גליף deity: Lidz 5 (but see to No. 11).

קבקביאל angel: 8.

קדרון רבא "the great Kedron": Wohls 2422 (cf. Mand. "the great Jordan").

קטולתא name of demon: 36.

קאטריאוים angel: Lidz 5.

קוסא divine name?: 19.

קפא *idem.*

קצפמה name of angel of death: Schw F.

ראויל angel: Schw N.

רחזיל, רחזעל angel: Pogn B.

ראייאל angel: Schw I.

ראם פתאן a male genius: Lidz 4.

ראם פתית a female genius: *ibid.*

ריקין angel: Pogn B.

ראשיאל angel: Schw I.

רבויל angel: Schw N.

רובמא a genius?: Schw F.

רבקא, רי' mother of demons.

רז Mystery: 37.

רחמיאל angel: 13, 28.

רחציאל angel: Schw I.

רופאחיל, רופעיל, רופאעיל, רופיאיל, רפאל (cf. פרעיל, עורפאיל) Raphael: *passim*, see p. 96 f.

שבייאל angel: 10.

שבקאיאל, שבקאייל angel: Pogn B.

שדי Shaddai: 8; Myhr; שדא אל, 7.

שדריאל angel: Schw N.

שלטיאל angel: 35.

שמהיזא deity: Montg. (Prof. F. Perles calls my attention to the midrashic occurrence of שמחזי; see Grünbaum, ZDMG, xxxi, 225 f. = *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Perles, 1901, p. 59 f.). See p. 198.

שאמיש, שמיש Sun: 36, 30; Pogn B; שמשא, Montg.

שנניאל angel: 25.

שראיאיל, שרעיל, שריאיל, שריאל angel: 14, 35; Pogn B.

שרקאייל angel: Pogn B.

שרירי demon: Schw F.

תיחייאל angel: Schw F.

תנאי עדול(ה) genius: *ibid.*

תיקיש angel: Ellis 1 (= Lidz קאטריאוים).

Also eleven names of angel in Ellis 3: סידריה, ברכבה, ככבה, סריה, ססכלא, ארקפס,—; cf. the "eleven" names in Schw G: פכררי, דמחנה, מתוקפא, עתיק, מיעיני, דמידור, ככבא, שראיה, ססרבא, בנים. In Schw M a list of mystical angel names: צלל, עלל, מלל, etc. A list of evil spirits in Schw G: נכר, נגלה מחמת, ססטוי, ססטימו. Names of ghosts, some cited above, Wohls 2417. For a lilith's names, see No. 42.

Some Kabbalistic forms of יהוה etc. (see p. 60 f.):

יהו יוה, Schw Q; יוי, Schw O; ויו, *ib.*; והוה, Hyv; וווו, Ellis 4, Hyv; יהו יהו יהו Stübe, l. 16; יה שמו, *ib.* l. 28; יהביה, 7: 8, Stübe, l. 15, cf. 13: 7; הה הה, 7: 12; יאהיהו 31: 6; יהוק, 14: 2.

אהיה אשר אהיה, Stübe, l. 29; אהעה, 5, center; אאא Schw I; אאאא Stübe, l. 35, אאאאא, 20: 2, 5.

אץ אץ, Stübe, l. 15; סף סף, מץ מץ יחיק יחיק, 15: 2; קץ שץ מץ etc. 29: 10; מצפץ (Atbash), Stübe, l. 66. Cf. also 1: 13, 24: 4f, 3: 6, etc.

GLOSSARY B

PROPER NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

אבא Abba s. Komesh: 17; s. Barkita: Stübe.

איבא Ibba s. Zawithai: 2.

אבהו Abbahu (a sorcerer?): 7, Myhr.

אבנדוך Abanduch d. Pušbi: 5.

אבונא Abuna s. Geribta: 2.

אברהם Abraham (the patriarch): 8, Schw O; s. Dadbeh: 12, 16.

אגלת Aglath d. Maḥlath: Schw P.

אידי Idi, m. Asmin: Wohls 2417.

אדם Adam; א' קדמאה: 10; בני אדם: 13, Pogn A.

אדק Adaḳ s. Ḥathoi: 6.

אדור יזדנדור Aduryazdandur; Pogn B (for first component see Justi, pp. 5, 51; the second error for Yazdandad?—see *ib.*. 146).

איהי (?) Ihi f. Ephra: 18.

איזדנדוך Izdanduch m. Yezidad: 7, 27.

אויא Azia m. Maria: Lidz 3.

אחדבוי Aḥdabui s. Aḥathbu: Wohls 2422.

אחת, Mand. אחאת Aḥath d. Parkoi: 3; d. Ḥathoi: 6; m. Dodai: 21, 22, 23; d. Doda: 25; d. Nebazach: 28; m. Churreniḳ: Lidz 2; d. Dade: Lidz 5.

אחתבו Aḥathbu m. Aḥdabui: Wohls 2422.

אחתאדבה, אחתאדאבה Aḥathadbah d. Imma: Wohls 2426, 2414.

אחתאטבון (w. prep. ליח') Aḥathaṭbon, d. Nanai: Pogn B, no. 18 (not in glossary).

אחאת רבתא: Aḥath-rabta m. Farruchiro: Pogn B.

אחתעמא Aḥathema m. Dade: Pogn B.

אוכמי Ukkamai f. Zuṭra: Schw F.

אמא, אמה Imma m. Ḥisdai Schw E; m. Osera: Schw G.

אמטור Amṭur d. Solomon: Schw I.

אוני הרמסדר טרדי (?). Oni Harmasdar Ṭardi m. Ṭardi: 20.

אנור..ד Anur..d s. Parkoi: 28.

אנוש Anoš m. Zadanoš: Pogn B.

אנושאי Anošai d. Mehinducht: *ibid.*

אניישיא Aniše (error for previous name?) *ibid.*

אנושתא Anošta, *ibid.*

אנות חיא Anuth-ḥaye d. Sebre-le-Yesho: *ibid.* ("vessel of life"?).

אסטרובא Astroba: 29.

אסמין Asmin d. Idi: Wohls 2417.

אסמנדוכת, ד-Asmanducht m. Dadbeh: 12, 16, 31, 33.

אספנז Aspenaz m. (?) Gaye: Myhr (see to 7: 4).

אוסרא Osera s. Osera and Imma: Schw G (see p. 83).

אפאדוי Aphadoi s. Dawiwi: Pogn B.

אפרה, אפרא Ephra s. Šaborduch: 1, 13; s. Ihi: 18.

אפרידויא Aphridoe d. Kušizag: Lidz 4 (cf. Justi, p. 6).

איצפנדוי Iṣpandoi w. Ephra: 18.

איצפנדרמיד, 26: 5, איס' (32, 35), איסי' (30) Iṣpandarmed m. Yandundišnaṭ: 30; m. Dinoi: 32, 35; m. Behdar: Ellis 1.

ארדוי Ardoi s. Hormizduch: 3; s. Gayye: Myhr.

ארחא Arḥa f. (m.) Išpiza: 30.

אריון Arion s. Zand: 19; 34 (sorcerer or deity?).

ארתשריה Artašria s. Komes: 17.

אישפיזא Išpiza s. Arḥa: 30.

אשר, אשיר Ašer f. Bosmath; Schw F; H.

אתאדבה Athadba d. Immi: Wohls 2426 (cf. אחתבו ff.).

אתרונא Ethroga m. Ḳuḳai: Pogn B ("citron").

באבי Babai s. Bedin: Wohls 2417 (cf. Syriac. בבי, see Nöld. *Pers. St.* 395, 414).

בבנוש, באבנוש Babanoš s. Kayyomta: 9; s. Mehanoš: Pogn B.

בידון, better בידין Be(h)din f. Babai: Wohls 2417 (see Justi, p. 347 b).

בהמנדוך, כת-Bahmanduch(t)d. Sama: 1, 13; m. Geyambuch: Pogn B.

בהרד Bahrad: Ellis 1 (see G. Hoffmann, *Ausz. aus syr. Acten,* 128).

בחרעזאג Bahrezag d. Kawaranoš: Pogn B.

בחרוי Bahroi d. Bath-sahde: 34.

בהרנדוך Bahranduch d. Newanduch: Ellis 1 (see Nöld., *Z. f. K. F.* ii, 296).

באנאי Banai m. Merduch: 7, 27.

בר אישור? perh. "son of praise" (artificial name of sorcerer?) Schw G.

ברבאביא Barbabe m. Yazid: Pogn B.

ברגלל Bar-gelal s. Dodai: 15.

ברדסא (?) Bardesa d. Terme: 39.

בר חאיי Bar-ḥaye: Rodw = Hal = Schw C (so Chwol *CIH,* 112; cf. Talmudic name חייא).

ברוך אריא Baruk-aria (Farruch?) s. Reshinduch: Schw M.

בריכיהביה Berikyahbeh s. Mamai: 26 (artificial form).

ברכיתא Barkita m. Abba: Stübe.

בר מסוסיה (?) Bar-mesosia: Hal, Schw C. (cf. my note on Schwab E, § 3; a master magician, with artificial name?).

בר משתאל, -איל, Bar-mištael: 7, Myhr (see to 7: 13).

בר שיבבי Bar-šibebi s. Tshehrazad: 15.

בישמאת Bosmath d. Ašer: Schw F (biblical).

בת סהדא Bath-sahde m. Bahroi: 34.

באת, בית אסיא Beth-asia d. Mehanosh: Pogn B, 3, 29.

גיאמבוך Geyambuch(?)d. Bahmanducht: Pogn B.

גיי Gaye s. Aspenaz: Myhr.

גיונאי Geyonai s. Mamai: 8.

געלויא Geloia (Geloie) m. Durduch: Pogn B; the same probably גילוי: no. 16094, unpub. (= *γελοία*, "laughter"?).

גמליל Gamaliel: Schwab O.

גניבא Geniba s. Dodai: Montg.

גספי Gaspai w.(?) Farruch: 41.

גורוי Guroi s. Ṭaṭi: 25.

גושנ[אי] Gušnai d. Beth-asia Pogn B, no. 3 (cf. below, יאזדגנה גושנאי).

דאדה Dada f. Šarḳoi: 12, 15.

דאדיא Dade m. Terme: 39; m. Maḥlaphta: Pogn B; d. Aḥath: *ib.* (also written דאדיה); d. Aḥath: Lidz 5 (דאדע).

דודי, דודאי, דודא Doda(i) d. Martha: 15; d. Aḥath: 21, 22, 23; m. Aḥath: 25; m. Hinduitha: 38.

דאדבה, דדבה Dadbeh s. Asmanduch: 12, 16, 21, 35.

דויד, דאויד David (the king): 14, 34; Hyv; Lidz 5.

דאויוי Dawiwi(?) f. (?) Aphridoe: Pogn B.

דזאונויא Dazaunoye s. ʿAdwitha: 38.

דוכתאנבה Duchtanbeh d. Kumai: Pogn A (p. 18).

דוכתנוש, דוכתאנוש Duchtanoš d. Ḥawwa: Pogn B; m. Farruchusraw: Lidz 4 (cf. Justi, p. 86).

דינוי Dinoi s. Ispandarmed: 35.

דנריתא, דנארתא, דנרתא Denar(i)ta d. Miša: Pogn B (cf. masc. name Dînar, "penny," Payne-Smith, col. 887).

דענדוך, דינדוך Denduch d. Chosriduch: *ibid.*

דורדוך Durduch d. Geloia: Pogn B (Nöldeke, for Adhurduch).

דרשי Darši "the foreigner": 29.

הדיסתא, אי-Hadista d. Miria: Schw M (biblical Hadassa).

הינדו, הנדו (הנדי?) Hindu d. Maḥlaphta: 24; m. Marathai: 40; m. Mehperoz: Ellis 3 (see above, § 3).

הינדויתא Hinduitha d. Dodai: 38.

הוניק Honiḳ s. Dadbeh: 12, 16; s. Komeš: 17; s. Aḥath: 16020 (unpub.).

הר..דורא H. r.. dora m. Ispandarmed: 26.

הורמיז Hormiz s. Mama: 15; s. Maḥlaphta: Lidz 5.

הורמיזדוך Hormizduch m. Ardoi: 3; d. Mehduch: 14.

זאדבה Zadbeh s. Denarta: Pogn B (Nöldeke, from Azadhbeh).

זדו, זדוי Zadoi s. Newanduch: 10; זאדויא s. ʿAdwitha: 38.

זדאן פרוך Zadanfarruch s. Ḳaḳi: Hyv (cf. Justi, p. 377).

זאדאנוש Zadanoš d. Anoš: Pogn B.

זויתאי Zawithai m. Ibba: 2.

זוטרא Zuṭra s. Ukmai: Schw F (w. title Mar).

זנד Zand f. Arion: 19, 34 (sorcerer or deity?).

זאפה Zapeh s. ?: Pogn B.

זרוי Zaroi s. ?: 37.

זרנכש Zarinkaš d. Maḥlaphta: 24.

חביב Ḥabib: no. 2924 (unpub.).

חוא Ḥawwa (Eve) wife of Adam: 13; m. Šišin: Pogn B.

חליפאי Ḥalifai s. Šišin: 29.

חמרי..שאי Ḥmri..šai d. Emme: Pogn B (no. 19).

אחנוך (חנוך) Enoch the patriarch: 4.

חנון Ḥanun, the house of: 19.

חיסדי Ḥisdai s. Ama: Schw E.

חתימא Ḥathima m. ?: Pogn B.

טאטי Ṭaṭi m. Guroi: 25.

טימאתאיז Timatheoz s. Mamai: Lidz 2 ("Timotheos," Lidz).

טרדי Ṭardi d. Oni: 20.

טשיהראזד Tsherazad m. Bar-šibebi: 15.

יהושע, יישוע Joshua, Jesus, s. Peraḥia, traditional socerer: 8; 9; 17; 32; 33; 34 (see to 32).

יזדיד (?) Yazdid s. Komeš: 17.

יזיד, יאזיד Yazid s. Šišin: Pogn B; s. Barbabe: *ibid.* (Aramaic rather than Arabic, against Pognon B, pp. 103, 14).

יזידאד Yezidad s. Izdanduch: 7, 27.

יזדויהּ. Yazdoe d. Rašnoi: Pogn B (the same name, Justi, p. 149).

יאזאדפנהּ נושנאי Yazadpanah Gušnai: Pogn B (for the second word cf. above; the first a Persian name, see Justi, p. 149, Payne-Smith, col. 1585).

יוכבד Yokebed d. ?: no. 2924 (unpub.).

יגדונדישנט Yandundišnaṭ s. Ispandarmed: 30.

יסמין Yasmin d. Dadbeh: 12.

יעקב Jacob the patriarch: 8, Schw O.

יצחק Isaac the patriarch: *ibid.*

כואר אנוש Chewaranoš m. Behrezag: Pogn B (cf. Nöldeke's review, p. 144).

כואשיזג Chewašizag(?) m. Mehrḳai: Pogn A; d. Papa: Lidz 4 (see Pogn, p. 18; Justi, p. 182; Andreas to Lidz, proposing *chush-zak*).

כזאביאת Kezabiath m. Adur-yazdandar: Pogn B, no. 23.

כוזחרוי, כוחזרוי, כוזעחרוי Chuzehuroi(?) s. Beth-asia: Pogn B.

כלתא Kalletha d. Maḥlaphta: 17.

כומאי Komai m. Duchtanbeh: Pogn A.

כומבוי Kumboi m. Meducht: 35.

כומיש Komeš d. Maḥlaphta: 17.

כסארו Xaro s. Mehanoš: 40.

כסרידוך Chosriduch m. Denduch: Pogn B.

כפני Kaphni f. Newanduch: 10; 11; h. Newanduch 10.

כופיתי, -אי, -א Kufithai m. Pabaḳ: 2, 4; d. Dadbeh: 12, 16.

כוראי Kurai m. Mesorta: Pogn B.

כורניק Churrenik d. Aḥath: Lidz 2 (cf. Andreas, *ad loc.*).

כוראסאן Churasan w. Chuzehuroi: Pogn B (cf. Justi, p. 78, but see Nöldeke to Pognon, p. 144).

כושענתא, כושנתא Kušenta m. Sumaḳa: Pogn B (from Pers. Warešna, or derivative?—see Justi, p. 354).

כתימא Kethima m. Nana: Schw L.

מהאנוש, מהנוש Mehanoš m. Xaro: 40; m. Babanoš, Pogn B; m. Beth-asia: *ibid.*

מהדוך Mehduch d. Dadbeh: 12, 16; m. Hormizduch: 14; d. Maḥl(aphta): 9007 (unpub.).

מחוי Mehoi s. Dodai: 15.

מהפרוז Mehperoz s. Hindu: Eliis 3 (= Mihrperoz, Justi, p. 206; cf. above, § 3).

מהינדוכת Mehinducht: m. Anošai: Pogn B (= *maheng*, Justi, p. 186?).

מהרבן Mehraban s. Yazdoie: Pogn B (Pogn thinks error for following; but cf. Meribanes = Mihrwan, etc., Justi, p. 208).

מהרודן Mehrodan: Pogn B (cf. Ροδανης = Wardan, Justi, p. 351).

מיהר הורמיזד Mihr-hormizd s. Mamai: 34.

מעהריקאי, -א Mehriḳai s. Kušizag: Pogn A (from Mithrakana, s. Justi, p. 214).

מזדאנאספס Mazdanaspas s. Kušizag: Lidz 4 (see Andreas *ad loc.*).

מחלפונא Maḥlephona s. Dade: Pogn B (but Nöldeke, מחלפתא).

מחלפתא Maḥlaphta m. Komeš: 17; m. Mešaršia: 19; m. Hindu, etc.: 24; m. Pathšapta: Pogn B; m. Hormiz: Lidz 5.

מחלת Maḥlath m. Aglath: Schw P (biblical).

מחופתא Meḥuphta m. Raḳdata: Pogn B (but Nöldeke, מהלפתא).

מאידוכת, מידוכת Maiducht d. Kumboi: 35, no. 16093.

מלכונא Malkona s. Maḳsath: Schw P.

ממא, מאמאי, מאמי: Mamai, Mama: m. Geyonai: 8; m. Hormiz: 15; m. Berikyahbeh: 26; m. Mihr-hormizd: 34; m. Ṭimatheoz: Lidz 2.

מסקת Masḳath m. Malkona: Schw P ("olive-gleaner").

מסורתא Mesorta m. Kurai: Pogn B.

מארבא, מראבא Marabba s. 'Adwitha: 38.

מראדא Marada h. Hinduitha: 38.

מרדכי, מוי Mordecai s. Saul: 41.

מירדוך Merduch d. Banai: 7, 27.

מאריא Maria d. Azia: Lidz 3.

מיריא Miria m. Hadista: Pogn M (= Miriam?).

מרים Mariam: Schw Q.

מרשאבור Meršabor f. Kayyoma: Pogn B (= frequent Syriac name, Justi, p. 206).

מארת Marath m. Rašnoi: 8 (= following name).

מרתא Martha m. Dodai: 15.

מאראתאי Marathai d. Hindu: 40.

מושה Moses (the lawgiver): 34, 35.

. . . מישא Miša . . . m. Denarta: Pogn B.

משכוי Muškoi d. Simoi: Myhr.

משרשיא Mešaršia s. Maḥlaphta: 19; s. Porath: Schw G.

מתאניש Methaniš d. Rešan: 29.

נבאזך Nebazach m. Aḥath: 28.

ניונדוך Newanduch d. Pushbi: 5; d. Kaphni: 10, 11; m. Behdanduch: Ellis 1.

נח Noah (patriarch): 10.

נאנא, נאנאי Nana d. Kethima: Schw L; Nanai m. Ahathaṭbon: Pogn B.

סעבריא ליעשו Sebre-leyeshu f. Anuthḥaye: Pogn B (w. Pognon = "his (my?) hope is in Jesus").

סמא, סמאי Sama(i) m. Behmanduch: 1, 13.

סישוי Simoi m. Muškoi: Myhr.

סימכוי Simkoi m. ?: 30.

סומאקא, סומקא Sumaḳa s. Kušanta: Pogn B.

סרדוסת Saradust d. Šerin: 9.

עדויתא 'Adwitha m. Marabba, etc.: 38.

עמיא Emme m. Hamri. . shai: Pogn B.

ערבדזיוא (?) s. Rabbi, a sorcerer: Hyv (see Nöldeke, *Z. f. Keils.-forsch.*, iii, 297).

פאבק Pabaḳ s. Kufithai: 2, 4.

פנוי Pannoi d. Dadbeh: 16.

פאפא Papa f. Chušizag: Lidz 4.

פפרויה Paproe d. Ḳuḳai: Pogn B (= Arabic Babroe, Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, 400).

פרחיה, פרחיא, פרוחיא Peraḥia f. Joshua (Jesus): 8; 9; 17; 32; 33; 34 (see to 32).

פרוך Farruch s. Pušbi: 5; s. ?: 41.

פרכוי Parkoi m. Aḥath: 3; m. Anur—: 28.

פרוכאן Farruchan s. Šahduch: Lidz 1.

פרוכסרוא (also פרוכסראוא) Farruchosraw s. Duchtanoš: Lidz 4.

פרוכירו Farruchiro s. Aḥath-rabta: Pogn B (cf. Farruchrui, Justi, p. 96).

פרנגין Pharnagin s. Pharnagin (a traditional conjurer): 7, Myhr.

פורתי Porathai m. Mešaršia: Schw G (cf. פורתא, *Esth.* 9: 8).

פושבי Pušbi m. Farruch: 5.

פת שפתא Path-šapta d. Maḥlaphta: Pogn A (with Pognon = בת שבתא, "Sabbath-daughter").

קאקי Ḳaḳi d. Maḥlaphta: 24; m. Zadanfarruch: Hyv.

קוקאי Ḳuḳai m. Paproe: Pogn B (cf. *κουκαις*, Justi, p. 166).

קיומא Ḳayoma s. Meršabor: Pogn B (a Syriac name, Payne-Smith, col. 3538; cf. the following).

קיומתא Ḳayomta m. Babanoš: 9.

רבי Rabbi father of a sorcerer: Hyv (artificial name?).

רובקאי Rubḳai: Pogn B (= Heb. רבקה ?).

רוסטאום Rustaum s. Churai: Pogn B.

רקדאתא Raḳdatha d. Meḥuphta: Pogn B ("dancer").

רשן Rešan m. Methaneš: 29.

ראשנינדוך Rašnenduch d. Aphridoe: Lidz 4.

רישינדוך Rešinduch m. Baruk-aria: Schw M.

רשנוי, רשנויה Rašnoi d. Marath: 8; m. Yazdoe: Pogn B.

שברדוך Šaborduch m. Ephra: 1, 13.

שאחדוך Šahduch m. Farruchan: Lidz 1.

שאל Saul (?) f. Mordecai: 41.

שילי Šili s. Šarḳoi: 12, 16.

שלמא Solomon (the king): Schw I, Q (סלמה), Hyv; f. Amṭur: Schwab I.

שלימון Solomon (the king): 34, 39. Ellis 1; Lidz 5.

שירין Širin m. Saradust: 9.

שרקוי Šarḳoi m. Kaphni: 10; d. Dada: 12, 16.

שישיא Šiše d. Beth-asia: Pogn B (compare the following).

שישין Šišin m. Ḥaliphai: 29; m. Yazid: Pogn B; d. Ḥawwa: *ibid.*; undetermined *ibid.* (= 60?).

שת Seth (the patriarch): 10.

תירמיא Terme d. Dade: 39.

תאתא Tata niece of Bardesa: 39.

GLOSSARY C

GENERAL GLOSSARY

אבא father: pl. אבהיהון 36: 5.

אבד perish: 9: 7.

מובדנא destroyer: 36: 5.

אבנא stone: אבני זימרא Hyv.

אברא, אבארא lead (tin?): 19: 10, 39: 5. עברא: Montg.

אגר hire: אגירא Pogn B, עגירא Lidz 2.

אגרא roof: 6: 7.

אגרתא letter, of divorce writ: 8: 13.

אדנא ear: Lidz 4, אוד Schw I.

אידרונא alcove: 12: 13.

או, Mand. עו or: 8: 17, Lidz 2; if: Pogn B; repeated = if ... or: Pogn B.

אונא a disease: 24: 2.

אוץ squeeze: איצין 1: 11.

אות, אתה letter of alphabet: אותיות 9: 5, אתותא 35: 9.

אזיתא sweating fever: 24: 2.

אזל go: אזלנא 2: 1, אזינא 6: 6; impf: אזיל 36: 4, תיזעל, תיזיל Pogn B; impv: איזלו Ellis 1, איזילו Schw F, עזיל, עזל Pogn B.

אחא brother: pl. w. suff. אחוי 4: 3.

אחאתא sister: 39: 9.

אחנא relative: 34: 2.

אחד take hold of: 11: 4.

אחר be behind, tarry: Af. Wohls 2417.

אחר behind: עחראיכון Pogn B.

אחור do.: 8: 3, אחורי Stübe 58.

איי oh: Hal.

איך oh(?): Schwab F.

איכין as: 32: 9.

אילנא tree: 34: 5.

אין nought: שאנו which is not Schw M.

אית there is: איתלה 37: 3; עתבה are in him, Pogn B.

אית כא, איכא = Talm. עכא, Lidz 4.

לית is not: Pogn B.

אוכדו error for following אוקדו ?: Schw G.

אכל eat: 36: 7; דוכלאת, whoever (f) eats, Pogn B.

אכלא food: 18: 6.

אל unto, אל עולם 1: 15 (see על).

אלהא god: 7: 4; אילהא 14; אלהי, pl. 16: 5 (also Glossary A).

אלהתא goddess: Wohls 2417: 5, אלתא (אי) Wohls 2422, 2426 (or, curse?).

אלהותא deity: 38: 7.

אלף Af. teach: מלפא Hal; לאלופיא Pogn B; דליפאת, *ib.* (Pogn as from לוף).

אם, אים if: 2: 3; repeated, whether ... or, Ellis 1.

אמא, אימא mother: אימיכין 8: 4, עמאין, 38: 14; plur. אימהתהון, 36: 5.

אוממותא? parallel to cattle, possessions, Schw M.

אמן be true: Hof. מהומנין, Schw M.

אמן Amen: e. g. אמין אמן, 14: 8; עין ומין, Pogn B (see p. 63).

הימנותא faith: 29: 12.

אמן denominative of אומנא artisan (?) in מאן דאמנויא אמנתאכון, whoever has worked for you, Pogn B.

אמר say, command: 2: 3; Etpe. איתמר 30: 7, אתמר 37: 5.

מאמר word: Schw M, מימר 13: 2.

אמרא tree-top?: 34: 5.

אן if: in דן, Lidz 4: 9.

אין yea: עין ומין Pogn B (see אמן).

אנאתא vessels: 38: 3.

מאנא vessel מאן ליביה, Schw F.

אנפי face: 13: 5, בנפיכון in your presence, Pogn B, no. 31.

אף anger: Schw F.

אפי over? עופין אפיכון Schw R.

אנשא, אי' (*'nâš* and *'inš*) man: 1: 12, etc.; constr. אינש 7: 13, עניש 38: 8; pl. אינשי 7: 15, אנשא 32: 10, אנאשיא 38: 11.

איש man: א' ואשה, Ellis 5.

אנתתא woman, wife: 31: 9, 32: 1; אינתתא 9: 4; איתתא 3: 3, 7: 15, etc.; איתיתה Schw M; אתתא 3: 3; עתתא, Lidz 2; pl. נשי 1: 12, נשא 35: 8.

אסא heal: יסיך, w. suf. 1: 15; Etp. יתסי Wohls 2422; ppls. מאסיא, אסיא, Lidz 1c.

אסו, אסותא healing, etc.: 1: 3, 13: 8; pl. 3: 1, etc. (see p. 129).

אסא, אסה myrtle: 13: 3, Pogn B.

איספלידא hall: 12: 13.

איסקופתא, איסכי, עסכי threshold: 6: 4, 9: 11, Lidz 5.

אסקרון? Wohls 2422 (see Fränkel *ad loc.*).

אסר bind, charm, of magic: 4: 1, etc.; ניתסר 19: 14; Af. ppl. מסריתון Pogn B.; בית עסיריא, prison, *ib.* (see p. 52).

עי', אי', אסרא bond, spell, angel: 4: 3, etc.

איסורא ditto. 4: 3, etc.

אסירא binding: Lidz 5.

מוסרא spell: 3: 1.

איסתרתא goddess: 2: 7, etc. (see p. 71);

איסרתא ditto? Ellis 3, Wohls 2422 (but see Fränkel; is the form a confusion with or feminine of איסרא?).

אעא wood: 38: 2.

אף moreover: 3: 11, etc.; אוף, Schw I.

אפך turn away: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

אפילי darkness: Schw F.

אפיקי epithet of סרנין 7: 11.

אפרפרט *praeparatum?*: 13: 12.

אקלידיא keys: Pogn B.

אורנא trap: Wohls 2417.

אורחא way: Hal 3.

ארמאייא Aramaean (so read in Pogn B, 27, ext.).

ארעה earth: 2: 2; ארקא, Myhr, Pogn B.

אש fire: 8: 14.

אישתא ditto: 14: 7; עשאתא, Pogn B.

אשיתא fever: 24: 2; אישתא Schw G.

אשימא guilt: Schw PSBA xii, 299; אשעם בישׁ, Schw M (see p. 86).

אשף enchant: 2: 3.

אישפא enchantment, *ibid.*

אשתא rump: עשת׳, Pogn B.

את sign of accus.: Schw M (Heb.).

אתא come: 8: 9; Af. איתיתי, 9: 7.

אתן = עטן press?: 38: 12.

אתרא place: 9: 8; באתר אתר one after the other, 38: 11; בתרא afterwards, Schw F; בתר in place of, after, 1: 12, 28: 2.

ב, בי in: *passim;* ביפתכרי, 2: 7; בי קשתא, 2: 3; במא, in that, Schw I (?).

בגדני a class of deities: 19: 6 (cf. Glossary A).

בגן an interjectional call for divine help, in בגן ישומא רבא, Pogn B (cf. the Syriac root; Pognon, "maledic-diction").

בהת be ashamed: impv. pl. ביהות, Pogn B.

בוא come in: באין Schw G.

ביזא plunder (?): 5: 3.

בזא cleave: נלאלא דלבזעיא, Pogn B (see him, p. 50).

באטו = פאתו some form of evil: Schw L.

בטל cease, abandon: impv. 7: 15, pass. part. 17: 13, act. (?) באטליא Pogn B; Pa. undo: 17: 13, 7: 13 בטלא inf.; Etpa. Schw I.

ביטול because of: 11: 8 (cf. מיטול).

באטנא womb: 39: 3.

בוטר ? 32: 10, 33: 12.

בין define, specify (?): בינא, Schw F.

בין, בי, ביני: between: בין ... בין, whether... or, 3: 5; בי ... ל, between... and, 29: 11; בעי, ביניא, Pogn B.

בינא midst: 6: 11.

בית within: בית ליבא 30: 4.

בעתא egg: Pogn B.

בישׁ evil: 8: 16, etc.

בישותא malady: 34: 7.

בישתותא ditto (?): Schw L.

ביתא house, family: ביתיהון 12: 2, בתיהון 6: 6; Mand. with suffix, ביתה, 38: 1, באיתה Lidz 4; plur. בתאין 38: 11. Of a sorcerer's school 8: 11, 19: 17.

מבכלתא, מבכלין (בכל) class of demons: 2: 7, 7: 17, 10: 4, etc. (see p. 79).

בלם muzzle: 2: 11, Lidz 4.

בלע swallow up, destroy, Etp. 3: 7, 9: 6.

בינינא building: 38: 3; of cattle barn, 40: 4; construction (abstract) 16: 6.

ביסאדיא pillow: Lidz 5.

בסומתא in דב׳ ... אלהתא, a goddess of censing, embalming (?), Wohls 2417.

בעא ask: 4: 6; באייא, act. ppl. f., Pogn B.

בעלא husband: 8: 13, etc.

בעילדבבא class of demons (see p. 80): 2: 3; in Pogn B, בלדבאי, בילדבאבאי, בלדאבאי.

בעירא, Syr. בירא cattle: Wohls 2422, 34: 8, 37: 2.

בקרא herd: Pogn B, no. 27 (so understand).

בר, בן son, *passim;* Heb. בן, 41; plur. e. g. בני נורא, 1: 9; plur. w. suffix בנה, 11: 9, 29: 6, 38: 4.

ברתא daughter: Ellis 1; const. בת *passim,* ברת 36: 2, Mand. פת 38: 4, פאת Pogn B (באת, בית component of name Pogn B, ?); plur. בנן 3: 3, בנתהון 3: 5. בתקלא voice, 16: 10. בנתא דבראי, demons, 29: 7.

בר apart in בר מין 19: 15, Pogn B.

ברא the open country: 17: 3, 29: 7.

ברא Pa. put outside: Pogn B.

בראי foreigner: 29: 8.

ברור bright, of angels: Schw I.

ברא create: 2: 2, Myhr.

ברדא hail: 14: 3.

ברח flee: Ellis 1: 8.

ברך bless: 25: 3; Pa. ברכא Pogn B (= מב׳ ?).

ברק flash (lightning): 12: 8.

ברקא lightning: 12: 8.

בתולתא virgin: 13: 1.

גאא געיאים proud: Schw M.

גב, גוב bend: גיבנא, 2: 4; inf. מנאב, Etpe., Etpa., Pogn B., Pa. reply: 2: 4.

גבא back: 8: 3.

גובא lintel: גובתיהון, 6: 4.

גבל knead: 12: 5 (of magical operation).

גבר be strong: Pa. מגנברין, 30: 5.

גברא man: 7: 17, 35: 7, 40: 12.

גבראי, גוברא, Mand. גבארא, גוברא strong: 3: 2, 19: 13, Pogn A, B.

גברותא might: Schw F.

גדול great: 5: 3, הסר הגדול Schw F.

גידוליתא woven headdress: Lidz 2.

גדר wall up (against demons): 17: 8.

גו midst: בנו 34: 6, לגו 13: 10, מן גו 32: 6.

גוד tie, bind (of a spell): 29: 10.

גוחא eruption, noise: קאל נ׳ Pogn B.

גונא color, form: גיונין 7: 15 = גונין Myhr.

גופא body: Hal, Schw Q; גופה, term for a man's inamorata, 13: 12.

גזל rob: Pogn B.

גזר inhibit, ban: 7: 13, Pogn B.

גזירתא ban: 7: 13.

גזרדינא magical condemnation: Montg.

גיטא (magic) divorce: 8: 7 (q. v.).

גוכאייא Gukaean: Pogn B.

גיסא great: Schw F.

side: pl. גיסן 34: 4; familiar spirit: 6: 2, 12: 9.

גליל גל circuit: גי עלם, 25: 7.

גלאלא rock (?): Pogn B (so Pognon; or of the magic circle?).

גלגלא circuit גלגלי שמשא Stübe 58, Pogn B.

גלגלתא spheres: נורא בגלגלן 8: 13.

גרגלא ditto: גרגליא עפיבי Pogn B.

גינלא ditto: גינלי שמיא, 6: 11.

גלחא, ענלאחא, = גלאלא: Pogn B (from ענל?).

גלם, גלימא, = to בלימא, Lidz 4.

גלף engrave: ציר גליף, 11: 9.

גמל אנמול ? Wohls 2422 ("good works"?).

גמף engrave: 36: 7.

גמיר completion: עד גמירי זמן Schw F.

גינא Jinn: Hyv, prob. 37: 10 (see p. 80).

גנדא, גונדא troop: 7: 17; species of demons 37: 6.

נציצא, נציצתא polished armor: 2: 1, 27: 3.

גרבא an itching disease: Wohls 2422.

גרביא, גירביא north: Pogn B.

גרמא bone, body: 7: 17.

גרקל Pa., chain: Pogn A (root גלל ?).

גושמא body: Stübe.

ד, דַ relative particle, passim; with following half-vowel, די, e. g. דיבני. In Mand. ד for דַ, 38: 12, 14, Pogn A, p. 13. Used to resume a preposition, Pogn B, no. 12, l. 6 (For omission of the particle in genitive construction, see p. 39.).

דידי mine: בידידי, on my own part, 2: 5; דידיה, his, 30: 4.

דילי ditto: 7: 12; בדיל די, in order that, 28: 4.

דבא lurk, of demons: 1: 6, 6: 4, 18: 6.

דבק cling, haunt, of demons: 11: 6, Pogn B.

דבר see זבר.

על דיברי, דבר on account of: 25: 3.

דברא pasture land: Ellis 3.

מדבראנא chariot-driver: Pogn B.

דינלא (angelic) cohorts: 8: 14.

(דון) דינא judgment, of the last day: 4: 4, 19: 8, Wohls 2417.

דור dwell: דירין Ellis 5, תידרן (?) Myhr.

דורא dwelling-place and its precincts: 32: 11, 38: 2, Lidz 4 (דוארא).

דרתא ditto: 29: 8.

דירתא ditto: 8: 4, 29: 6.

מדרא ditto: Schw E, Hal.

דוש tread down: impv. דושן Lidz 4.

דיזוארא evil-doing: Lidz 4.

דחא chase: Pogn B.

דחל fear: 1: 12, Peal and Pael, דחילה fearful, Schw F.

מדחלנא terrifying: 35: 7.

דיאבולא *διάβολοι*: 35: 4.

דיוא devil: 1: 7, 39: 5, etc. (see p. 74).

דכא pure: 27: 4.

דוכתא place: דוכתין (*sic*) Schw G.

דכר record: 14: 6, 29: 9.

דכר, Mand. זכר, male: 6: 2, 39: 5, Ellis 5.

דוכרנא name: 28: 5.

דלא draw up: Pogn B, Etpa.

מדוליא reliever, epith. of Raphael: 34: 7.

דלאלא place in Babylonia: Hal.

דם blood: Schw M.

דמא, be like, appear in disguise, of spirits: לדמיא impf. Pogn B, Etpe. 1: 12, etc.

דמותא likeness: בידמו דמו, 6: 4; plur. דמואתא, 39: 9 (see p. 82).

דמא sleep: Wohls 2417.

דמר be astounded: Stübe 47.

דמקר a disease (?): 34: 10.

מדנחא (דנח) east: Wohls 2422 (so Fränkel), מדנא, Pogn B.

דסתבירא ban-writ: 32: 4, etc.

דרדקא (דקק), fem. דרדקתא child: 11: 6, דרטקא 36: 4; דארקא, דירקא ditto: 18: 6, Lidz 5.

דרדקונא ditto. Pogn B.

דרמנא healing: 37: 1, Pogn B.

דרומא south: Wohls 2422.

דריסת true: 13: 8.

הא see! here!: 7: 13, 18: 8 in הפטרית, Lidz 5.

הדמא limb (the 248 members): Schw E, F, Stübe 56.

הדר return: 18: 9.

הוא, Heb. היה be: תיהוי, 1: 2, 4; ppl. = future, 37: 3; Mand. w. prep., תהוילה, 38: 13; ייהי, Schw M.

היכלא mansion: 38: 2, Hyv, Pogn A, B, Lidz 2; heavenly temple, 14: 3.

הכדין thus: 17: 10.

הכין ditto: 8: 8.

הללויה Halleluia, magical term: 7: 17, etc.; misspelt, 20: 5, 24: 4, 31: 8, 32: 12.

הלך walk: מיתאלך 3: 3.

הפך turn: מהפכין, of the angels who revolve the planets, Stübe 8; Etp. *ib.* l. 14, 36: 1.

הפכו, הפיכו, הפיכה, הפכה magical terms for reversing charms, Ellis 3, and astrological fate, Schw G (sun, earth, stars, constellations).

הפכיתא a disease: Wohls 2422 (Fränkel reads חפפיתא, see below).

הראריא mental conceptions: Pogn A.

השתא now: 3: 11, 4: 1.

ו and, passim: n. b. ויבנן 3: 3, וידלא 14: 6, ויסאנאי Pogn B no. 24, ואנקבתא 30: 3, ואתותיא 38: 12.

וי woe!: 1: 9.

וריר glaucoma: ו׳ בישתא, Stübe 44 = Wohls 2416 (see p. 93).

ות, ית in אבות like, 37: 10; לות *apud*, מן ית גוף 3: 3 from the body, Schw M; מילות 3: 3; ית sign of accusative, w. noun 3: 4; w. pron. 7: 13; w. subject of passive שליכי ית רוחות Schw F; resuming מן, 5: 3.

זבובי flies: Wohls 2422.

זבדא marriage-portion: Pogn B.

זבן buy, Pa. sell: Pogn B.

זבר see Pogn B, p. 38: "an independent root = (1) turn, (2) cherish"; but the passages in his bowls can be explained by equation with דבר, lead turn, order.

זמבורא wasp: Pogn B.

(זה) מזיה on this side: 13: 7.

זהר Pa. put on guard, Etpa. be on guard: Pogn B.

זויתא corner: 4: 2, Pogn B.

זוב fly off: זובו ואזיבו Wohls 2414.

(זוג) זואו, זאוא spouse: 38: 13, etc.

(זח) זאזאי success: 38: 13.

זוח, זחח depart: תיזח, יזחון Ellis 3 (see p. 130); Pa. מזייחן, 13: 7; Etp. יזדחון 10: 6, עתאזחא Pogn B. (cf. נזח, זוע; see to 3: 2).

זוע, זעע, זעא ditto: יזיעון, 7: 5; ppls. זע, זיעין 7: 12, = זעא, זעיין, Myhr; יזדזעון 7: 5.

זידן impious, of charms: 2: 7, 4: 1, Pogn B.

זידנותא impiety: 30: 5.

זיוא glory: 7: 5, Pogn B.

זאינא weapon: Pogn B.

זינא restraint, loss: 34: 12; בית ז׳, prison: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

זיף honey: 12: 5.

זכא victorious: 37: 11; חיא זאכין, זאכיאן 40: 25, Pogn B, Lidz 5.

זכותא victory, etc., parallel to אסותא Pogn A, B.

זלף pour: 12: 5.

זימתא hair: Pogn A.

זם resound: 6: 11.

מיזמא resonance: 6: 11.

זמן Pa. designate (of setting apart the magic bowls): 3: 1, 31, etc.; invite: Pogn B.

(זמר) זמרתא singing-girl = harlot: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

מזמור psalm: 14: 3.

זימרא a precious stone?: Hyv.

זניתא harlot: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

זיפי hairs, used in magic?: 7: 13 (see p. 153).

זאפר foul: Pogn A.

זיקא blast: 12: 8; plur. blast-demons 14: 5, 19: 3; זעקי, Schw M (see p. 80).

זרז equip magically: 4: 6, 19: 13, 31: 4, 38: 2, Pogn B.

זרא׳, זרזתא magical equipment: 38: 13, 40: 2, Pogn B, Lidz 2.

זרעא seed: Schw I, Hyv.

זרעיתא posterity: 1: 8.

חב Pa. love: 13: 4.

חבא love: נחבי, 13: 9.

חבא hide: Etp. Schw I.

חבל Pa. injure, destroy: 1: 10, מחבלא the destroyer 9: 8; travail, of a woman, 13: 11.

חבלא, חו׳ injury, destruction: Schw F, G, N.

חבאלא ditto: 7: 16.

חבילא ditto: 32: 8, 37: 11.

חבלתא ditto: 16: 6.

חבלותא ditto: 32: 8.

חבק embrace, cherish, of angels: 13: 4.

חבר enchant: 6: 6.

חד one: חדא 4: 1; חדעשר 11, Ellis3.

חדדא one another: 31: 6, Pogn B.

חדר Af. surround: 4: 6.

חוארא (magic) circle: 39: 7.

חזורא precinct, property: 40: 4, w. חייא, livestock.

חדת new: חאתיא, חדתא Pogn B; f. חדתתא 13: 11.

חוא Pa. show: 37: 7, Pogn A, B.

(חוב) חיבא guilty: Schw F.

חויא serpent: plur. חיאואתא, Pogn B.

חוץ, לחוץ, without: Schw I.

מחיצא precinct: Schw P.

חוש quick! magical interjection: 14: 4 *q. v.;* also אחושיה יחוש, *ib.;* אחושה Stübe 14; יחש Schw N (between angel-names), Pogn B, no. 5, end; cf. חסי.

חוזיתא a skin-disase: Wohls 2422.

חזא see: 30: 4, Pogn B; Etpe. appear: תיחזן 6: 9, etc.

חזוא apparition: pl. חזואניא 31: 10, Pogn A, Lidz 5.

חזינא ditto: 30: 5.

חטא sin: 1: 3, 4 (of demons).

חטאא sinner: חטעים (?) Schw M.

חטאתא sin: Schw *PSBA,* xii, 299 (see p. 86).

חטף pluck away: Lidz 4.

חטפיתא a demon: 8: 2, 8, 12; חטיפתא, 17: 4.

חטר switch, plague: 30: 14.

חיא live: יחן 16: 4, נחיון 36: 6; Af. תאחי of mother, 24: 5.

חיא living: 38: 7, 39: 8: pl. life: 30: 1, 38: 13 (see Glossary A).

חיתא animal: 7: 14.

חיותא ditto Hal; pl. חיואניא 39: 6, חיוניאתא 38: 3, Pogn B.

מיחיה healing: Schw H.

חיל Pa. make strong: מחילין pass. 31: 5. (מתחילא, יתחיליה, Schw F ?).

חילא power: 2: 1, pl. חילינא 2: 2; בחיל מילתא 37: 4.

(חך) חכרכה a skin-disease: so read in Wohls 2422 for ה׳ (Fränkel, חבורא).

חכימא sage, in sorcery: 39: 7.

(חל) חלולא marriage chamber: 36: 7.

חלי sickness: Schw F.

חלבא milk: Pogn B.

חלמא, חי׳ dream: 6: 10, 31: 4, 39: 10, etc. (see p. 82).

חלין arm: 19: 13.

חלש weak: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

חמא father-in-law: Pogn B no. 29 (but read חמראי ?).

המתא mother-in-law: Ellis 3, Schw G (curse of).

חימא wrath: Schw F.

חמד name of a place: 5: 4.

חמס do violence: 2: 10.

חאמין leaven: 13: 12.

חמרא wine: Hyv, Pogn B.

חמרא ass: 40: 4, 14.

חומרתא pebble-charm: 19: 16, plur, חומראּ, חומרין, 4: 1, 30: 3. 38: 11 (see p. 87).

חמישתיכון five of you: 8: 31, 17: 4.

חמישתא fifth: 6: 8.

חנא womb: 36: 5.

חנא encamp: ניחנין? Schw I.

חנכא palate: Pogn B.

חנק throttle, of a lilith: 18: 6, Lidz 5.

חסאתא, חססא sufferings: Schw M, Q.

חסי quickly (see to חוש): 13: 9; חסי בך out upon thee, Schw M.

חיסדא grace: 13: 6.

חאסדנא contumelious: 30: 4.

חסל cease: חסילין Schw I.

חסם jealous: אינא חאסמתיא, Lidz 4; חאסמין? Schw I.

חפיתא(חף) a skin-disease: Wohls 2422, end.

חפין desire: Schw F.

חוציא name of a place: Hal, Schw E (Hal. identifies with an Arabic place-name; Schw with a place mentioned in Jer. *Sheb.* viii, 5).

חקל twist: Pogn B.

אחרוניתא (חרא) a pungent herb ?: 28: 3.

חרב Pa. lay waste: 38: 11, Pogn B.

חרבא sword: 37: 8.

חרד Pa. terrify: חירודי inf. 8: 7.

אחרדתא a kind of spell: Stübe 25.

חרך a pungent herb ?: 28: 3.

חרם ban: pass. ppl., 7: 17, Pogn B.

חראם curse: Montg.

חרימא anathema: Schw M.

אחרמתא ditto: 2: 6; also חרמתא, read by Fränkel in Wohls 2426: 2.

חירמון Hermon: 2: 6.

חרסא an eruptive disease: Wohls 2422 (read ח for ה).

הרסום ditto: 29: 9.

חרף Pa. blaspheme: 8: 16.

חריף sharp: 7: 17.

חרש Pa. enchant, poison: 7: 13 of water (see p. 84).

חרשין black arts: 5: 2, 33: 8, etc., Pogn B (see p. 84).

חרשא sorcerer (*ḥarrâš*): Pogn B, חרשיא, חרשאתא, masc. and fem.

חורשתא empoisonment: 39: 6.

חשוכא darkness: 16: 6: pl. חשוביא Pogn B.

חתם seal (magically): חתים ומחתם passim; 31: 5, 39: 11, etc.

חיתמא, חתמא seal: 7: 4, 19: 15, 38: 7.

חתומא besealment: 9: 11.
חתומין (?) ditto: 34: 1.
חתמתא ditto: 3: 1, 30: 1, 38: 13, Pogn A חתאמתא.
חותמתא ditto: Pogn B.

טבי gazelles: Wohls 2414.
טבל dip: Schw F.
טבע seal: Ellis 1.
טבעה a seal: *ib.*
טהר Etpa. purified: 12: 7.
(טוב) טב good: 29: 9.
טורא mountain: 7: 12, etc.
טטם ? Ellis 1.
טילא shade: שידי בני טילא 29: 9.
מיטלי covers (used of the bowls): 4: 1.
מטללן herb in a magic recipe: 28: 3.
טמא unclean: 34: 10.
טומי defilements: 29: 7.
טנף Pa. defile: Pogn A.
טעותא false deity: pl. טעותא Wohls 2422, טעתא *ib.* 2426.
טופנא the deluge: 10: 5.
טרד Af. frighten away: 7: 17.
טרודא disturbing: חזינא ט' 30: 5.
טרח trouble: Schw I.
טרף tear, pluck: 18: 6 ppl. of a lilith.
טורפתא, ט' talon, toe: 19: 19; pl. טורפיא, Pogn A, B.
טרופתא agitation: Lidz 4.
טורפס etc. some part of the heart: 11: 7 and parallels.
טרש stop up, of the ears: Lidz 4.

יא interjection: יא חוש 14: 7, יחוש, אהושיה l. 4.
יבל bring: אולאת, Pogn B, no. 28.
יבש dry up: Pogn B.
יד hand: ידוהי 19: 14, אידה 34: 13; על אידי on side of, Schw E; ביד *per,* 8: 13; תחית ידי דילי 7: 12; ידהא their hand ?, Schw E, Q.
יהב give: 36: 4, Ellis 1.
יומא day: 4: 4 (of judgment).
יממא day-time: 3: 3, etc.; אימאמא 39: 10; עמאמא Pogn B.
ילד bear (children): 1: 8.
ילדא child: 36: 6.
מודאלא parturition: 39: 11.
ימא sea: 7: 12, 8: 9, 14: 2, Pogn B.
ימא adjure: מומינא ומשבענא 7: 16, cf. אומיתי, 8: 6; אומית 40: 5, etc.; 17: 8; with על 8: 12. So understand בישוף מומין, Schw I: 5 (not "water magic"!).
מומתא exorcism: 1: 12; pl. מומאתיך Lidz 5.
מומיתא ditto: Schw I.
ימינא right-hand: 6: 10, Pogn A.
תימיא south: Pogn B (with גרביא).
יסר = אסר: 1: 12.
יקדי, איקדי a disease: Wohls 2422, Schw G (who reads אוקדו —the preceding פאיכדי is misspelling for this, *plus* פ, and).
יקיד burning, of fire: 4: 7.
יקרא glory = name: 8: 6.

יאקיר glorious, of the Name: Lidz 5.

ירא throw: מורא, Lidz 4, pierced with a lance ?, but see Lidz, and cf. עור.

אוריתא the Law: Hyv, Michael prince of the L.

מורניתא javelin: 11: 7 and parallels.

יורדנא, יור' Jordan (mystical river): Pogn B.

ירחא month: 6: 5, Pogn B.

ירקא greens: 18: 6.

ירורא howler (class of demons): 15: 6, Myhr 2, Schw G (see p. 81.).

ירש inherit: מורשתיה? Ellis 5.

(ישן)שינתא sleep: 6: 10.

יתב sit: 13: 7, etc.; impf. 1st per. עתיב Pogn B.

יתרא bowstring: 2: 5.

כ, כי like: כי 12: 8, כי הוא דין 32: 4; כי...כי, correlative, 13: 7; כד Pogn B, Lidz 5; כמא Ellis 1; אכות 37: 10; כאילא as if ?, Schw F.

כאב Af. put in pain: מכיבא, מאכעבאן Pogn B, Lidz 2.

כיבא pain, sickness: Wohls 2422, Pogn B.

כבר prevail: לכבר על impf. Pogn B.

כבש press down (technical phrase for the bowl magic): 4: 1, 38: 12, impv. כובשון Lidz 4; Etpe. 6: 9.

כיבשא term for the bowl: 6: 1, etc.; כיבשי עלמא (?) 28: 2; step of a throne 12: 6.

כדב deceive: 32: 9, Pogn B.

כדנא so: 16: 8.

לוחי כזבאתא 7: 9?

כדר artificial parallel to הדד?: Lidz 5.

כוזא pitcher: Pogn B.

כוכבא star: 4: 4 the 7 stars; 34: 6; Hal, Schw E.

כול hold: מיכל inf. 4: 1.

כון arrange: כינתי 1st pers. 15: 5.

מכנא residence: Pogn B.

כיוני planets: Ellis 3 (see § 3).

כיפא stone, as charm: Ellis 3 (read כוסא?).

ככא tooth: Lidz 4.

כל, כול all: 7: 6 (both forms), etc.; כולמאן, everyone, Lidz 2.

כלילא garland: 13: 11.

כלתא daughter-in-law: Ellis 3, Schw G.

כלביתא bitch: Schw L.

כמר Etpa. return: Pogn B (see him p. 20).

כומרא priest: 19: 10.

כמרי magic ?: Wohls 2426.

אכמרתא magical practice: Stübe 2.

כין so: 3: 11; בכין therefore, 9: 7, here, 25: 1.

(כנא)כנואתא associates: 19: 9.

כנפא wing: Pogn B.

כנישתא congregation: איסרי בית כ' Wohls 2422 (see p. 79).

כס abridge, blame: Pogn B.

כאסא, כוס (incantation) bowl: 7: 13, 31: 1, Pogn B (כוסא), Lidz 5.

כסא Pa. cover: 13: 6, Pogn B.

כסיא covering: Pogn B.

כסותא ditto: 13: 6.

כיסא, כורסיא, throne: 8: 14, 14: 3.

אכערון (כער) ugliness, a disease ?: 34: 10.

כיפסא menstruation: 29: 7.

כפר disbelieve: Pogn B.

כירי ? in רוחי כ', Wohls 2422.

כורהנא sickness: 7: 11, Wohls 2422.

כרך avert, reverse, Pe. Pa. Etp.: Pogn B, Lidz 1 a; Wohls 2422 (?).

כרכא sphere, orbit (astrological term): הרשי דשאבא כרכיא ודתמניא מאחויא: Pogn B.

כרכא Wohls 2422, see חכרכא.

כשדאי Chaldaeans: Hyv (see כסדיאל, Gloss A).

כושטא honesty: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

כשף Pa. bewitch: Pogn B, Lidz 1 a מכשמי for מכשפי ?

כישוף sorcery: Schw I.

כשיר decent, of a good demon: 29: 7.

כתב write, of the charms: 9: 3 etc., Pogn B.

כתבא, כתבתא writing: Ellis 1.

כתיבתא written charm: Ellis 3.

כדר (כתר) Pa. remain, so understand לאחדריא לאמכדאריא, of the demons not returning or remaining, Lidz 5, and cf. Nöldeke, *Gr.* § 45.

ל to and sign of accusative *passim;* with suff. ליכי fem. 7: 9, 10; לכא = לכי, 17: 10; ליא to me, Pogn B, etc. In composition, לבית להון, 1: 6, and *passim* in Mandaic with verb and pronominal suffix, e. g. שביקילה I have divorced her, 32: 9; for על, 19: 10; with verb to denote purpose, לתלניט, Pogn B, no. 23, l. 45, 46 (cf. על).

לא not, *passim;* in Mand. compounded with following word, e. g. 38: 8, לאבר.

רוח נ', נאלי(לאא) labor, asthma?: 16: 9.

ליבא, לילבא heart: 28: 5, etc.; לילבא 11: 7 and parallels, 19: 18.

לבש be clad: 2: 2, 8: 3; Af. 13: 6, Pogn B.

לבושא garment: 2: 2, 13: 6.

לגט see נקט.

לוא be attached to: לוין עימהון of demons, 6: 3, מתלויא Pogn B.

ליויא company: Pogn B.

לוט curse: Stübe 4, Pogn B, Lidz 2 לאטויא, they cursed him.

לוטתא a curse: 5: 1, 31: 4, Pogn B; Ellis 3: לטתא; Schwab M pl. לוטין (see p. 84).

לאטוטיאתא ditto: לאטוטא pl. Pogn B.

לטנא species of demons: 20; 3.

לוש Pa. soil: מלאושילהון, Pogn A.

לחמא food: Schw F.

לחש enchant: 5: 1.

לטבי species of demons: 9: 7, 32: 5, 7, 33: 5, 34: 9, 10; לטאבא Montg.

לילא, לילה night: 1: 13, etc.; ללא Pogn B.

לילי male counterpart to lilith: 8: 21, etc.

לילית lilith; 1: 8; pl. לילית and לילאתא; n. b. לילתה, לילת, 13: 3, 6 (see p. 75).

לקח impv. קח, *recipe*, repeated term in magical formula: Hal.

לישנא tongue: 13: 2; tongue of curses, charms, etc., 4: 1; Pogn B, Lidz 4 (see p. 88).

מא 100: תלתמא 38: 5: מאן, מאתין, 200, Schw E, F.

מגלא sickle, weapon of angels: 7: 17.

מדורא rotten: Pogn B.

מוט remove: מטי, imp. fem., 17. 11.

מוץ suck: 18: 6.

מות die: מיתי וחיי ppl. Wohls 2417.

מותא death: 3: 6.

מיתו ditto: Wohls 2422.

ממתניתא killer, fem.: 36: 5.

מנזתא(מז) hair: מנזיאיכן Pogn B.

מוחא brain, head: Schw F.

מחא strike: ppl. pl. מחן 6: 4; תימחון Etpe. 18: 7; Lidz 5.

מחתא stroke, plague: 16: 6.

מחותא ditto: 40: 8.

מחיתא ditto: מחיאתא Pogn B, מיחיאתא Lidz 1c.

מאחוזא city: Pogn B (see ברבא).

מאחוזאיתא of Mahoza: Pogn B.

מטא chance on, reach: Pogn B; Af. bring, 25: 5. In Pogn B נמסינה (= נמטינה), from מצא?

מטותא in במ׳, I pray: Wohls 2417.

מיטול, Mand. מינטול, אמינטול with ד and verb, because that: 4: 3, Lidz 5; w. ל and inf., in order to: 2: 6 (cf. ביטול).

מיא, מי, מימי, Heb. מים water: מיא בישי, a disease, Wohls 2422 (see p. 93); מימי ציתא 18: 6; מי מחראשי 7: 13; מאיאי my w., Pogn B; מים of the heavenly sea, 8: 14.

מינא kind, species: 1: 8; species of magic, Ellis 5.

מכל eat (denominative): 37: 9.

מל Pa. speak: ppl. Schw G.

מלתא Mand. מיעלתא; pl. מלין, Mand. מנליא, word, especially of incantations: 6: 12, 12: 9, 34: 5, 38: 6, Pogn B. (see p. 85).

מללתא ditto: 6: 9.

מלאלא מללא ditto: 27: 5, 38: 8.

מלא be full: יתמלאון 12: 7.

מיליא flood: Pogn B.

מלאכא angel, *passim* as title of evil spirits, 4: 1, 37: 8, 38: 6, Wohls 2422 16; of deities, 36: 5.

מלאכתא female angel = goddess: Pogn B, no. 15 of Estera; in his no. 14 עסתאר מלאכיא מ', prob. fem. form (Pogn "queen").

מלואשא zodiac-sign 19: 9(?), his constellation (cf. Glossary A).

מלכא king: 34: 8 of Solomon; Hyv of Michael; *ib.* מאלך of God (Arabism? — so Nöldeke, p. 295); 11: 5, 18: 4, k. of demons.

מלכתא queen: 19: 6, q. of goddesses.

מלכותא kingdom: Wohls 2417.

מן, gen. מין from, *passim;* ממי (?) Schw F מי Schw H; w. assimilated 13: 6, 17: 1, מיעל 17: 5; מינאי from me, Lidz 5, מין דיליא ditto, Pogn B. בשמך = משמך, Wohls 2426, and his note p. 29.

מנא Pa. ordain: Schw F, arrange מניתי 15: 5.

מנאתא portion, in marriage: pl. מנואתא Pogn B.

מסא melt: 9: 6.

מסר denom. fr. אסר, bind: 32: 7, 33: 8.

מעילא robe: מ' חיסדא 13: 6.

מצעיא intermediate (of the middle of the three spatial regions): עלאהיא מצאייא Pogn B.

מצר bind: Pogn B, Lidz 2, מ' בעדקיא (so Pogn, and cf. Ass. *maṣâru,* but see Nöld. *Mand. Gram.* 84, n. 2).

מרירי(מר) bitter: 2: 3, 4: 4, epithet of devils and charms.

מרארא bitterness: Pogn B, and plur. מרארי אתא.

מריא(מרא) lord: of deity 19: 5; as human title, מר זוטרא Schw E; of the sorcerer Lidz 4; construct מר, Hyv, gen. מרי, 18: 1; מרוהי his lord, 12: 6; pl., מראיהין Pogn B, מרתהון 28: 5.

מרתא mistress, lady מרתין, our lady 19: 5; lady of dead and living Wohls 2417, Pogn B מראתא.

מרה rebel: Schw F.

מדד rebel: 1: 9.

משחא oil: Schw F.

מתא town: Ellis 3, opposed to ברא

מחת stretch out: Pogn B, Etpa.

ננע plague: 16: 4, אינגע 29: 9.

נד move, etc.: Stübe 62.

נדה Pa. excommunicate, expel: Pu. מנודין, Hal = Schw E, מנודא Schw M; see Lidz's note on מורא = מודא? in Lidz 2.

נידי (?) excommunication?: Ellis 3.

נידרא vow, ban, in magic: 5: 2, 7: 13, 32: 12, Lidz 4 נעדריא (see p. 84).

ניהוא he is (?): Hal.

נהר Af. make clear, name (?): 7: 9.

נהורא light: 16: 6, also נהרא Pogn B.

נוד tremble: Pogn B; מנידין, Pael pass. ppl., Halévy (see § 3).

נודא commotion: Pogn B.

נוח rest: Etpe. איתנח, 2: 6.

נחתא rest: Pogn B.

נוחא(נ'?) in חומרי דנ'?, Schw R.

ניחא rest: 16: 7, Schw E.

נורא fire: 8: 13, 14: 3; charms of fire 15: 7, 34: 11; Gabriel prince of fire, Hyv; light, in בני נ' 1: 9.

נורייא pepper: 28: 3.

נזח depart: תינזח, 5: 1.

(נזל) מזלי, מזלא constellations: 34: 6, Ellis 3, Schw G.

נזקין class of evil spirits: 21: 23: 2.

מזיקין class of evil spirits: 7: 11, 14: 6, מנזקין 23: 4 (see p. 75).

נחישא bronze: 4: 6, 6: 11, 15: 7.

נחת come down: 8: 7, 12: 5; Af. 2: 6, 27: 9 (of angels, curses).

נטר Pa. guard: 7: 9, 35: 6; Etpe. 10: 3, 32: 11.

נטרא, נא' guardian: Wohls 2417, Pogn B.

נטרתא, נטא' guarding: 35: 1, 38: 13, Pogn A.

מטרתא ditto: 7: 13.

מנטרנותא wardship: 35: 6.

נכוח before: Schw F.

נכם Pa. butcher: Pogn B.

נוכראייא stranger: Pogn B.

נכש bite: Schw L, Q נכם.

נס Af. afflict: תסיסון, 17: 6.

נסא Pa. prove, try: נסיאת she has proved, Pogn B.

נאסיתא trial: Pogn B.

נסב take up: 4: 6, 28: 3, Pogn B; impv. f. pl. סיב 17: 9.

ניסן Nisan: Wohls 2422 (see p. 55).

נפח blow with the breath: Schw F, of demons blowing on the brain.

נפן fall: impv. פולו Wohls 2414, Pogn B.

ניפלא בר נ' a disease: 29: 7.

נפק go out: יפוק 3: 11; impv. פוק 36: 2, פוקי 8: 10, פקו, פק 17: 6, 7; Af. מהנפיקנא Myhr = מפיקנא 7: 12; inf. לאפקא 9: 8, w. suff. 32: 8.

נפר Af. put to flight: אנפרת Schw F(?), see § 3.

נפשא life, person: 7: 13; 2: 1, Pogn, דנ' of one's own.

נצא wrangle: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

נצח be victorious: Hal, of a star; נ' רשום שמא, Schw I.

ניצחנא victorious: Schw I.

(נקא) נקותא libation: 36: 7.

(נקב) נקף Pa. perforate: Pogn B.

נקב distinct pronunciation: נ' מתוך נקבים 9: 6.

נקבתא woman, female: 30: 4, נק(י)בה Ellis 1, Schw M; נקיבתא 30: 3, ניקבתא (most common form, sing. and plur.) 6: 3, 8: 2, 37: 10; ניקבתא 8: 8; נוקבתא, plur. נוקבאתא, Lidz 4, 39: 6,

נקבאתא Pogn A.

מיקבתא curse ?: Schw I.

נקט, Mand. לגט grasp: 4: 6, 7: 17, 16: 8, Pogn B Pe. and Etpe.

נשבא trap: Wohls 2414.

נישמתא spirit, of man: Schw G, נישימתא 39: 2.

נשף blow, of windblasts: 12: 8.

נתר Hif. permit: Hof. מותרין, Schw G.

סאב Pa. make unclean: בעירא מסאבא Wohls 2422.

סאן pass. ppl. soiled, foul: סאינאתא 39: 10, סאיניא, m. pl., Pogn A, סינאתא Pogn B (cf. סנא).

סב turn away: 8: 13.

סגא Af. walk: 12: 6, Pogn B.

סגי numerous: סגין pl. Schw Q.

סדא stocks, for the feet: 39: 4, Pogn A סאדריא.

סדאניא, סא' bases, of the world: Pogn (p. 77).

סדם, סטם close up: סדימא ומסאטמא 38: 10, מסדמא 40: 21.

סדום Sodom.

סדרא row: 2: 7, 27: 11.

סוטיטא seducing spirits: 35: 4 (see p. 80).

סוסתא mare: Wohls 2414.

סוף in ימא דס', Red Sea: 34: 4.

סופא end: Schw F, לסוף עלמין.

סחט seize: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

סחף put a cover on: pass. ppl. סיפא 38: 12; Pa. 7: 17, Pogn B.

סחרא magic art: סחריא 39: 4, Pogn A, B, possibly in סירא בסרא = סחירא בסח', Lidz 4.

סטא go astray: 1: 9.

סטלא, סטולא Lat. *situla* ?: Schw F, bis.

סטנא a satan, Satan: 2: 3, 5: 4, etc.; סטאנא 19: 3, 40: 8; plur. 35: 3.

סטרא writ: תירוכבי ס' 26: 6.

סיטרא side: 6: 10.

סיפא sword: 37: 8.

סכא, שכא look at: Pogn A, of the demon's glance; Schw I.

סכל Af. commit offence: 4: 2, 5 (inf. אסכלי); Etpa. become wise Stübe 48.

מיסכינותא(סכן) poverty: 34: 12, Lidz 4, as object of exorcism; 16: 10, genius of p.

סכר close up: 13: 1, Pa. Lidz 4.

סכרא astrological term = pole? Montg.

סלה Selah, magic word, 5: 7, 36: 8, etc.; סאלה 20: 5, 24: 6 (see p. 63).

סיליתא cage-work: 19: 10.

סלק go up: סליק 3d pers. 32: 8, סליקית 1st pers. 9: 7.

מסאקתא ascent: Pogn B.

סמא (?) poison: Schw F.

סמך descend upon: Pogn B.

סמאלא left hand: Pogn A; שמלא, 6: 10.

סמקי a place in Babylonia (*Yeb.* 121a, אנמי ס'), home of a demon: Wohls 2417.

סנא hate, in ppls. only: act. סני 2: 1 = סנאי 27: 6; pass.

5: 2, 39: 6, Pogn B (cf. סאן).

סינתא hatred: Lidz 4.

סנף Pa. gird ?: Pogn B.

סערא hair: 8: 3.

סיפתא lip: Lidz 4.

סרי stench: רוח סרי, 16: 9.

סרנא species of demons: 7: 11.

סיתרא destruction: 16: 6.

סתירא loosening: 16: 6.

סתר hide, protect: Nifal 25: 2.

סתרתא pl. secret arts? Ellis 3.

עבד make: 12: 6; of a magical work 9: 2, 32: 3; Pa. use as a servant, Pogn B.

עבדא servant: 34: 7.

עבדא magical practice: Schw F (for this and following terms, see p. 51).

עבודא ditto: 32: 3.

עובדא ditto: 9: 1, etc., Pogn B, Lidz 4 עובאדא; of the Jewish cult 29: 12.

מעבדא ditto: 34: 13, Ellis 3, Schw F, M, Stübe 10.

עבר pass over, transgress: 32: 8; 1: 9, 7: 3, 6: 11 גיבר.

עבר, עיבר across: מן עיבר ימא 8: 9 = מעבר 17: 10.

עיבורא grain: Hyv.

מאמברתא passage: Pogn B.

עגלא in בע', soon: Schw M.

עד eternity, with עולם: 2: 15.

עידא time: pl. עידיא 26: 5.

עדנא ditto: 6: 6, Pogn B.

עדא go away: 5: 1; Af. 7: 17.

עד unto: 4: 4 = עדמא 19: 19; with inf. ל עדמא 34: 11; עד ד' as long as, Hal.

ערקא lock of hair: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

עדר Pa. help: Schw I.

עולא embryo: 39: 3, Pogn B.

עופא bird: 7: 14.

עוק be in distress: ppl. pl. אקאתא. Pogn B; Af. press, אעיקיתי 13: 3.

עקין so Hyv in l. 4; read זיקין.

אקתא distress: Lidz 4.

עור Pa. blind: pass. ppl. מאורא Pogn B, perh. in מורא Lidz 4.

(עז)אוזא strength: 6: 11.

עזיזא strong: fem., epithet of Dilbat 28: 5, of deity 38: 7, of spirits and witches Pogn A, B.

ענזא sheep: 40: 4, 14.

עזא Etpa. persist: 34: 10.

עזיבתא in חומרי דע', Schw R.

עיזקתא seal-ring: of the sorcerer: 17: 12, Ellis 1, of Solomon 34: 8, of God 8: 11, ring of fire 15: 7.

עוטר ? 32: 10 = 33: 12.

עינא eye, the evil eye: ע' בישתא 5: 4, Lidz 4, עיין רעה, Ellis 5; various possessors of the evil eye 30: 3 (see p. 89).

עבורא temple: Pogn B; class of evil spirits, 38: 8, 40: 19, Pogn B, Lidz 4 (see p. 72).

על enter: ניעלון 29: 20 = נעילון 30: 10; ppl. אילין 38: 14.

עליל w. עלך, out upon thee: Pogn B, no. 28, l. 1, = Heb. חלילה על (so better than w. Schwally, ילללתא, fr. Ass. *elêlu* lament, *Or. Lit-Zeit.* ii, 7 f.).

(עלא) על, Mand. אל unto, upon, to (freq. for ל, cf. עליכין and לחין, 8: 3, 9, and in generally in Mand.), *passim;* אלא חיי, by Life! 40: 6, 18, cf. 40: 5; w. suff., 2d fem., sing. עליבי Schw F, עלך 36: 3 (עליכהא? Schw F); 3d pers. עליהו Schw F, עלוהי Stübe 32; 2d plur. עלאיכון Pogn B; 3d, אלאיך, אלאיהין, Lidz 1a; עלמא (upon him ? Schw G) until Pogn B, why Schw G; alternating with עלאוי Pogn B, no. 28; עלמאהו, how, why: Pogn B.

לעיל above: 19: 10.

עילוי against: עילוה, against him, 37: 8, עלאויהון, Pogn B.

עלאיא superior, epithet of celestial gods: Pogn B.

עליה height: כוכביא דע' Hal.

עלם, עולם eternity, in formulas: לעלם 1: 15, עד עולם ועד 3: 5, לסוף עלמין Schw F.

עלמא a kind of injury: Schw G (see p. 93).

עם, עים with: 1: 13, 6: 3, 35: 6; ועים ו', and also (?) 1: 3.

עמא people: עממיה 13: 1, of tribes of angels.

עמד stand: 8: 14.

עומקא depth: Pogn B.

עמורא Gomorrha: 2: 6.

ענני שימשא a herb used in magic: 28: 3.

ענקתא, א' necklace charm or spirit: 7: 11, 29: 7, Myhr 6; אנקתא, 16: 9, masc. plur. אנקי, 12: 9 (see p. 88).

עפרא dust: באפרא, Wohls 2417; = Heb. עפרת, Montg.

עיקדא magical knots, as class of demons: 34: 10 (see p. 88).

עקר uproot: עקירין, Hal; Pa. 8: 15; Etpa. 9: 6.

עקרתא barrenness, spirit of: 11: 3.

(עקרב) (ו)ארקביא scorpions: Pogn B, no. 27 (Nöldeke).

(ערב) מערבא west: Wohls 2422, Pogn B.

(ערב) עריב sweet: Ellis 5.

ערומא a kind of disease: Schw G (see p. 93).

ערסא, א' bed: 7: 17, Lidz 5.

ערפילא darkness: Pogn B; plur. Montg.

עָרַק flee: יעריק 3: 7, יעיריק 3: 11; impv. עיריקו Ellis 1, ערוק Lidz 5 (cf. קרח).

עשה make: 9: 1, Schw Q, Wohls 2422 (of magical practice).

עשם oppress: ppl. עשמא 34: 9, of a class of demons.

עשר ten: חד ע', Ellis 3.

עתיקא, ח' old: Pogn B.

עותרא a Mand. genius: Pogn B, the 3 Uthras.

פ and: פמטי 17: 11 (see מוט), פאיכדי, see under יקדי (see p. 105).

פגם Pa. mutilate: 1: 10.

פגע encounter: 2: 2.

פגעא plague, class of evil spirits: 7: 14, 15: 6 (see p. 92).

פגעיתא, פגעתא fem. of above: Wohls 2426, 16: 10.

פגר Pa. break: 1: 11.

פגרא body: 7: 6, 19: 15, 38: 9.

פזר scatter: 8: 2, in a magical phrase.

פחארא potter: Pogn B.

פורא potter's vessel, of the bowl: 9: 1, 32: 3, 33: 1.

פטר banish, divorce: 9: 9, 15: 8, etc.; Af. Lidz 5 (see to 8: 7).

פטרתא exemption: 17: 12.

פיטורא divorce-writ: 8: 7, etc.

פכר Pe. and Pa. bind: Pogn B.

פלג divide inheritance: Pogn B.

פלגא half: Pogn B.

פה, פום mouth: 13: 1, Lidz 4; על פי יהוה 5: 5; כפי אאא' 20: 5.

פנים face: מפני, Schw F.

פניא in עובדי פ'; Wohls 2414.

פס break: 7: 17.

פסק cut: 28: 5; Etp. עפשקא Pogn B.

פקד command: 36: 3; Af. Lidz 4; Etpe. 35: 6.

פקדתא command: 38: 6, פאקתון (w. suff.) *ib.*

פוקדנא ward, imprisonment: 34: 6.

פקע burst open: ניפקא 6: 11.

פר Af. break, annul: inf. מיפר Stübe 1, 44, מפירין Ellis 3.

פרד scatter, bewilder: 7: 16.

פרזלא iron: 2: 1, 15: 7, 38: 5, Schw I.

פרח flee: Schw N, Hyv 14, Stübe 49; also prob. in פרח פרחין 1: 10.

פרט determine, of a decree: Lidz 4.

פריכא shrine-spirit: 38: 8, 40: 19 (see p. 72).

פרס scatter: 28: 3, 4.

פרצופא person: Pogn A, of demons.

פרק separate: פירקין, 17: 13, 1st per. plur?

פרקנא deliverance: 4: 5.

פרש Af.-Hof. ppl. of the pronounced Name: שמה המפורש, Hal; שם מפורש 11: 9 = שומא מפרשא, Lidz 5; of angels מפרשין ומהומנין Stübe 59; Af. in Schwab I, warn?

פרת Euphrates: Schw G.

פשט Pa. stretch: 2: 5 = 27: 7.

פשר break, annul (charms, etc): פשירתון ומפשריתון Pogn B, of the magic divorce 11: 7.

פשארתא, פשרא annulment: Pogn B.

פיתנאמא word: 37: 7.

פיתחא doorway: 6: 6.

פתכרי image-spirits: 5: 2, פתיכרי, 2: 7, 38: 8, Pogn B, Lidz 4, פתקרי Schw Q, פתיכרן fem. pl. Ellis 3 (see p. 72).

פתכרותא idolatry: 37: 6.

(צאא)ציתא filth: מימי צ׳ 18: 6.

צבע dip: Schw F (?).

איצבעא finger: Schw F.

צוף mutter: מצוף, מצפן Schw F.

צור bind, with a spell: 6: 6, 7: 2, 29: 5.

צור draw, depict: 11: 9 = Ellis 1.

צורתא figure, on a seal: 15: 7.

צות obey: צותי f. impv. 8: 10.

צחן stink: Pogn A.

ציצא ray of light: 7: 5 plur.

ציצית glory: 12: 7.

צלף scourge: 1: 10, Lidz 4.

ציפונא north: Wohls 2422.

צפר morning: 26: 5.

צרא cleave: צאריא cloven (hoofs), Pogn B; Etpe. 6: 11.

צורכא side: Schw G.

קא emphatic part. in אפקא, 7: 14, 17: 12.

קבא collect: 37: 4.

קבל receive: 6: 11, 37: 7, Pogn B; impv. קבילו Ellis 1, קאביל Lidz 5.

קיבלא counter-charm: 6: 2, 32: 8 (see p. 86).

לקובליה against him: Schw E.

קברא, קוברא tomb: Wohls 2422, Pogn B.

קבורא ditto: Pogn B, no. 5.

קדא in Lidz 5, but see קרח.

קדם, קדאם, קודם before, in sing. and plur.: מן קדם, קדאמיה, קדמוהי 3: 7, 9; Syr. קדמה 34: 7, קדמיהון, 36: 5, קדמוה 37: 8; מן קודם 25: 2, קודאם Pogn B.

קם, קמי ditto: לקמי Ellis 1, מן קמה from him, 13: 2.

קדמאה pristine: 33: 11; Adam Kadmon 10: 3; of Mand. Life and Nebat, Pogn B.

קודקליא (?) tresses: Pogn B.

קודיש holiness: Schw M.

קדוש holy, the Holy One: Schw I, 7: 15.

קדישא ditto, particularly epithet of demons: 4: 1, Pogn A.

קום arise, stand: ppl. act. קימין 2: 7, קים 13: 8; קימיתן Peîl form, Wohls 2417 (of the resurrection); Pa. 29: 10; Etpa. 16: 4, 8: 17, etc.; Af. מאקימילן, Pogn B.

קומא stature, person: קומאיון Pogn B.

קומתא ditto: 2: 1, 19: 3, Pogn B.

מקום place: Schw M.

מיקומא ditto: Hal (of cattle).

קטל, גטל kill, of demons: 3: 2, 4, 36: 4, etc; גאטלא Lidz 5 (cf. Glossary A).

קטר bind, of magic: Schw I.

קיטרא spell: 7: 13, 28: 5, Hyv.

קירא pl. wax figures: 39: 7.

(קל)קללא curse: 5: 3.

קלא, קאלא voice: 7, 11, of the client 13: 9, of the witches Lidz 1a; בתקלא the magical invocation, 16: 10 (see p. 84).

קמיעא amulet: 2: 1, 10: 17, 29: 5, Ellis 5 (see p. 44).

קומרא vault of heaven?: Pogn B (zodiac?, see Payne-Smith, col. 3650).

קמתא = קמטא ? contortion: 34: 10.

קנינא, ק' possessions: 2: 5, 34: 3 (the Mandaic use for "cattle" not assured, in 34: 8 ק' may mean small cattle).

קנמי person(?): כמידי קנמי Schw I.

(קר)קרירא cold: Pogn B.

קרא call, name: 16: 5, 36: 4, ליקרו demons read the inscription, Ellis 5 (see § 3); Etpe. 3: 2, Pogn B מקריא.

קריתא magical invocation: 7: 11, 16: 10, Pogn B, Lidz 4 אקריתא (see p. 84).

קרותא ditto: 35: 4.

קריאנא ditto: Pogn B.

קרא chance upon: 18: 10, Ellis 3.

קרי mishap, pollution: Schw G, l. 8 (so possibly, see p. 92).

קרב approach: 6: 10, etc.

קרב, קריב near, neighbor: Ellis 3, Hal, fem. קריבתא, Schw G.

קראבא battle: Lidz 1a.

קרח, קרא flee: 18: 9 = קדא Lidz 5 (metathesis of ערק).

קרן horn: Pogn B, Lidz 2; of a magical figure 12: 5.

קורקא link of a chain: Montg.

קרקפתא head: 2: 1.

(קש)קשיש old: 19: 9.

קשי hard, painful: pl. קשיי 7: 11, Wohls 2422.

קשטא bow: 2: 4.

ראשא, ריש, ראיש head: 19: 19, Pogn B, 4: 5.

ראשית beginning: Lidz 5; creation 11: 9, 18: 12.

רב great: 4: 4, etc.; fem. רבתי, 4: 5 שעתא ר', 38: 10, Wohls 2417 אמי ר' grandmother, רבאתיא Pogn B; רב, רבי title 8: 8, etc.; plur. רבין Schw I, רורבאתא Pogn B, רברבי masters 16: 8, so רורביא 39: 7.

רבתא usury: Lidz 2.

רבונא (?) master: Hal.

(רבע) ארבע four: 4: 1, ארביא Pogn B; ארבעתיכין the four of you, 8: 13.

ארבעין forty: Schw E.

רביעיתא fourth, fem.: 6: 8.

רונזא wrath: 16: 3, 37: 8, 39: 7, Wohl 2422.

רגלא foot: 19: 19.

לינרא ditto: 38: 12.

ניגלא ditto: Schw I.

ניגרא ditto: 12: 8.

רגיל hobbled: 38: 10, 40: 21, Lidz 4.

רגמא stone(?): Pogn B, רגים Lidz 2.

רגף shake (?): Lidz 4.

רדע? 34: 5.

רוח, רוחא spirit, of man: פנרא רוחא וגישמתא Pogn B, plur. רוחיא Lidz 1a, Pogn A; gen. of evil spirits, 8: 16, etc., plur. רוחות Schw F, רוחי 16: 8, etc., as masc. 30: 3, cf. Ellis 5 רוח רעה זכר ונקבה; ר׳ ליליתא 30: 3, ר׳ סרי נאלי 16: 9 (see p. 74).

ריחא perfume: Pogn B.

(רום) רם, ראם high: 14: 4, Pogn B.

רמתא, ראמתא height: plur 9: 6. 34: 5.

רוממא ditto: Schw G.

מרומא ditto: 32: 8, מראומא Pogn B.

רזא, ראזא mystery, of magical rites: 6: 11, 7: 13, 28: 3, 37: 4, etc. (and see p. 85).

רחבאל name of a place or sanctuary: 19: 10.

רחם Pa. have compassion: 13: 4; תיתרוכים (?) Schw L; ppl. רחם loving Schw I.

רחמי love of God: 3: 1, 11: 2, Schw E.

רחמתא love: רזי ר׳ love rites, 28: 3.

רחנם name of a place or sanctuary: 19: 11.

רחק be far: ppls. רחקא Schw G, רחיק Hal; Pa. 14: 2 Lidz 4; Etpe. 8: 17, Lidz 4 עתראחאק.

ריעא crop ?: Hyv.

רכוב chariot: 8: 13.

מרכבתא ditto: 14: 2, 25: 2, Pogn B.

רמא cast down: 9: 1, רמן act. ppl. 6: 4, רמי pass. 7: 17; Etpe. תרמון 14: 7.

רימזא (the divine) beck: 19: 8.

רמאזא one endowed with the evil eye ?: Pogn B.

רמס trample: 1: 10.

רימסא reptiles: 7: 14.

רמץ prick, bruise: 18: 6.

רמשא evening: 26: 5.

רוסתרום name of a place or sanctuary: 19: 12.

רע evil: Ellis 5.

רעותא will, pleasure: 12: 6.

רפד encamp: 2: 7 (but cf. 27: 11).

מרפדא camp: 2: 7, 27: 11.

רפע lift, remove (Nöldeke cft. Arab.): תירפעין, Hyv (who supposes רפא).

רוקא ריקא "le crachet a été craché"?: Pogn B.

רקדא dance, of angels: 12: 8.

רקיעא firmament: 8: 9, Stübe 61; Mand. רקיחא, רקעיא, pl. the seven רקעחיא, Pogn B.

רשותא authority: Stübe 61; רשוה in center of bowl No. 20.

רשום signing, of a name: ר׳ שמא, Schw I.

ש Heb. relative: שאנו, ששיצא, Schw M; magical element, see p. 60.

שאל ask: שאילית 4: 6.

שאול hell: שבע שאול seventh hell? 6: 12.

שב burn: נשתבב 28: 1.

שיבא class of amulet-spirits: 15: 6 (see p. 88).

(שבח) תושבחא praise: 29: 12.

שבטא, שובתא plague, plur. class of demons: 12: 4, 10, 15: 6, 35: 3, Hyv (see p. 92).

שבילא road: 5: 4.

שבע Af. adjure, in exorcism: אשבעית עליכון 1: 8, 3: 3; Mand. אשבית, I adjure, 40: 5, Pogn B (assigned wrongly by him to שבא).

שבע, שיבעא, שבעה, שבעת seven: 6: 7, 19: 4, 4: 4, etc.; Mand. שובע, שאביא, Pogn B.

שבעין seventy: 7: 17 of angels, Hyv of spells.

שבועתא oath: Schw I.

שביעיתא seventh, fem.: 6: 8.

שבק dismiss, divorce: שביקת 17: 2, 32: 9, 40: 22 שביקילה I have divorced her; Pa. Pogn B.

שיבוק divorcement: 8: 13, plur. 9: 5.

שבר Pa. break: Schw G.

שוברא "nid"?: Schw F.

שבת cease: שביתין Schw E, שביתיתן Wohls 2426.

שבותתא residence?: Schw I.

שגר Etpe. dissolve like water: 2: 11; burn, 28: 1.

שגש Pa. disturb: 1: 11.

שגושא, שונשא commotion: Pogn B.

שנוש disturbing: 24: 4.

שידא plur. demons: 2: 7, 7: 14, Pogn B, etc.; שידטין? (read שובטין?) Schw G, etc. (see p. 73).

שידניתא she-demon: 7: 14.

שדא throw down: Pogn B, so שדי in Stübe 50?

שדר Pa. send: 36: 3, Pogn B (also Peil forms).

שדרתא a form of magic (see p. 86).

משדרנא sender: Pogn B.

שוא be equal: in ppl. אשוה כ', like; Pa. set: 37: 11, Pogn B.

שוחאה lust: 28: 4.

(שוט) שיט eye-tumor: 34: 10.

שוף crawl, of witches: Pogn B; rub(?) *ib.*

שור leap forth: ppl. שיר 19: 14.

שוארא leaper, *ephialtes*: Pogn A (see p. 82).

שורא wall: 4: 6, 34: 4.

שוש Pa. overthrow: inf. שאושיא, Pogn B.

שוחדא bribe: Pogn B, Lidz 4.

שחוה worship: 8: 14.

שחן burn, with love: נישתיחן 28: 1.

שחופתא consumption: Schw G (see p. 93).

שחקים the ether: 29: 11.

שחרתא slumber: 7: 16, 8: 11.

שחורא black, of a kind of demons: Schw G (see p. 80).

שחרר emancipate: demons who are not משחררין Schw I; משוחרר Schw R.

שירא song, charm: 32: 9, 33: 4.

שכב lie: sexually of demons, 1: 13, 11: 8; Af. set down 34: 5. lay a ghost 16: 11; lay a spell 34: 5.

מישכבא (בית) bedchamber: 7: 7. 8: 5, 19: 3.

שכח find: Etpe. 8: 7.

שיכנא? haunter, species of demon, so Nöldeke to Hyv, *ZKF* ii 296, perhaps better read שובטין.

שכינתא Shekina: 14: 3, שבנאתא רבתיא Pogn B.

משכינא abode, of demons: Ellis 3 (Halévy, משרי).

משכונתא dwelling: 34: 2.

שוליתא foetus: Pogn B, Lidz 1b (Nöldeke, exortion).

שלהובתא flame: 14: 7.

שלח send, send away: 8: 3, Hofal 8: 13; Mand. שחל, Etpe. נעשתחלון, עשתלא, Af. אשלח inf. שוליא: Pogn B.

משלאנא sender: Pogn B.

שלט rule: תישילטון 6: 10, Peil שליטיתון Stübe 51.

שליטא ruler: 11: 5, 19: 12, 17, Lidz 4.

שלך send forth: Schw F.

שלם Af. deliver: Lidz 4.

שלמא peace: 13: 12, 37: 10, ש' אלך Wohls 2417.

ש' אשלמתא initiatory rites, in magic: 12: 9, 16: 10, 35: 4, Hal, Schw E, M, Stübe 2; שלמתא Pogn B (see p. 85).

שלניתא ghost, or demon: 8: 2, 8, 12, 17: 4.

שום, שמא name, *passim*: plur. שימות שמהן 9: 6, שמיהון 14: 6, שמאתא שמותא שומהתא Ellis 3, שומהתא Schw G, 16: 8; Mand. שומא 38: 7, plur. שימאין 40: 1; בשום, in the name of (deity, angel, sorcerer, or the charm-words following, e. g. 6: 7), *passim;* n. b. לישמיה 28: 1, משמך 95; דבלשום of whatever name 1: 13.

שמא lay waste?: ישתמה Schw I.

שמיא heaven: 9: 6, 11: 2 (= God), etc.; שממי Schw I, שמימיא Schw Q, שומיא Pogn B.

שמע hear: 8: 10, שמיע עליכין 8: 3: Mand. שומית I heard Lidz 1a = שומאי Pogn B, שומאי impv. *ib.*, Etpe. תישתמון, *ib.*, Pa. inf. לשימועיכון 8: 7.

שמר guard, keep: 5: 3.

שמש Pa. serve: Stübe 60.

שמשא sun: 28: 3, שאמיש 30: 2 (cf. Glossary A).

שמת Pa. ban: Hal, Lidz 4, משמתתא epithet of lilith 34: 13, 35: 11, Etpa. Wohls 2426.

שמתא ban: 8: 6; plur. שמתאן Schw I, שמתתא Stübe 12.

שנא Pa. change one's place: 36: 2; bewilder, make mad: 7: 16.

שתא year: 6: 5, plur. שני 6: 6 (see also השתא).

שעתא (שעא) hour: 4: 5 ש' רבתי, 26: 5.

שעותא mocking mischief of demons: Schw G, cf. שעיהון, Ellis 3 (see § 3).

שעיר satyr, species of demons: שעירים 5: 4 (see p. 80).

שערתא a fever(?): 11: 3.

שיפטין Hyv, read שובטין.

שיפלא abasement(?): Schw F.

שיפורי excommunication Stübe 12 (see p. 53).

שיצי destroy: inf. שיציה 7: 17; come forth: שציא Schw M.

שיקא pl. the Arabic *šiḳ*-demon: 15: 5.

שקא to water: Pogn B, Etpe. 37: 9.

שקע deposit, of the bowl-practice: שקינא 32: 3, 33: 1.

שקל take off: 11: 8, Lidz 5.

שקף strike. 11: 6, Lidz 5.

שיקופתא blow, affliction, a method or result of magical practice: 12: 9, Ellis 5, Stübe 2, Wohls 2426, 2414 שקיפותא Lidz 4 (see p. 86).

אישתקופתא ditto: 16: 10.

שיקצא vermin: 7: 14.

שר Pa. bind, magically: ישרר Schw G, inf., שרורי Schw F, ppl. 31: 5, 37: 4.

שריר firm, of charms: 3: 1, 13: 8, Lidz 5.

שררתא, authority: Schw I.

שררות spell: Schw G, with לוט.

משררנותא? Schw I, end.

שרא prince: Schw I.

שרא loose, dwell: 12: 2, 34: 11, שורין impv. pl. Lidz 1b, with suff. Lidz 2, ditto fem. שראי Pogn B, e. g. no. 15; Af. to lodge, 14: 3; Etpe. be loosened, 19: 4, Hyv, Pogn B מישארא, מישריא.

שרא diarrhoea: 34: 10.

שורבתא tribe, of demoniac species: 7: 17, 38: 6, 40: 17 the 360 species (cf. p. 80).

שרש Pa. uproot: שרשיא fem. pl. impv. ? (but see Lidz, p. 93, n. 9, = root שרא).

שושלאתא chains: 39: 5.

שישלנא enchainment: 34: 11.

שתא drink: inf. מישתיה Schw F, impv. אישתאי 36: 7.

ששת (שת) six: 11: 9.

שישין, שיתין 60, in enumeration of demons, etc.: 19: 8, 38: 5, Lidz 4, Hyv.

תבר break: 40: 12; Etpe. 40: 12, Lidz 1a; Pa. תאבר, Lidz 2.

תיבות (Noah's) ark: 10: 5.

תאנא crown: תאנא דזיוא Pogn B.

תגמא military division: plur. תגממיה 13: 1, of demons.

תהומא, תומא abyss, always in plur: Schw F, G, Pogn B תומיא תחתייא (Pogn as though = תוחמא, black).

תוב, תום again: 2: 1, Ellis 1; תום 39: 11, Lidz 5.

תוך in מתוך, out of: 9: 5.

תורא bull 40: 4.

תחת, תחית, etc. under: תחתיו Schw F, תחית under the hand 7: 12 = תחות 16: 6; Mand. תותיא 38: 12, תיתאך Pogn B.

תחתאי inferior: Pogn B, see to תהומא.

(תד)תוכא loss, damage: 34: 7 (see p. 94).

תכלתא abortion: 11: 4.

תל hang(?): איתללה Schw F.

תלת three: תלאת Pogn B, תלתמא 300 38: 5; תליתיכון, תלתיכון 17: 4, 8: 3.

תליתיתא third, fem.: 6: 8.

תמן there: 14: 7, 19: 14.

תום see תוב.

תמניא eight: 8 spirits, seals, 19: 4, Schw E, F, Pogn B.

תמני 80: 19: 9, w. suff. תמאנאן Lidz 4.

תנינא monster, of Leviathan: 2: 4, 6.

תקן Pa. make fast: 19: 10, 29: 11.

תקיף mighty, epithet of magical arts: Hal, Hyv; of deities, etc., 34: 9, 40: 19; of the sorcerer 34: 2.

תרין two: 4: 4, Pogn B; תרויהון two of them, 34: 4.

תינינתא second: fem.: 6: 8.

תרך Pa. divorce: 17: 3.

תירוכא divorcement: 26: 6.

(תרעא) תירא gate: Pogn B.

PRONOMINAL FORMS

1st per. אנא: 2: 1, 5, 4: 6, etc.; אנא: 11: 1, Pogn B; אני: 14: 1.

1st pers. pl. אנחנא: 1: 14.

2d per. f. אנתי: 26: 3, 8: 8, 15 (or plur.? q. v.), אנאת 38: 4.

2d pers. pl. m. and fem. אנתון: 19: 13; אנתו: Schw F; אתון: 4: 7; אנתין: 8: 8; אנתי: 8: 8, 17: 3(?).

3d pers. (also demonstrative): הוא 8: 7, etc., 32: 4; הו: 39: 8; as copula הוא הוא: 9: 1, 32: 3; ההוא Schw F; היא: Ellis 3.

3d pers. pl. הינון: Pogn B; הנהון: 32: 7, 33: 7; אינון, אנון: 13: 4, 35: 6; הינין: Schw I, Pogn B; הן Schw Q.

Demonstrative, masc. דין: 8: 16, 10: 1, Ellis 5, Hal; דנן: 3: 5, 7: 16, Stübe 43 (these forms in stereotyped phrases, cf. דנא(ב) 16: 8); הדין: 3: 6, הדאין 28: 4, האזין: Pogn A; הנא (Syr.) 31: 1, 2; דאכא: Schw F; דא (?): 18: 5.

Demonstrative fem. הדא: 1: 4, 35: 6, האזא Lidz 5.

Demonstrative pl. הלין: 6: 7, 10: 3, 31: 5, 35: 9, 36: 5, Pogn B; אילין: Hal 2; אילי, אילה, אלה: 25: 2, 5.

Indefinite (ד)מן: 2: 2, מאן 27: 3, Pogn B; מא, in במא, כמא, עדמא, עלמאהו (see these prepositions). אידי those who(?): Wohls 2414. מינדעם: 5: 2, מידעם, 2: 3, 12: 10, 29: 8, מדם Ellis 5.

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PLATES

Prefatory Note

The concave spherical surface on which the bowl texts are inscribed precluded their reproduction by photography. At the best only a half of the text can be obtained satisfactorily by the camera, as the pair of photographs at the end of the Plates will show. Accordingly the texts had to be copied by hand.

Soon after the bowls came to the Museum, Professor Jastrow, of the University, and Professor Gottheil, of Columbia, undertook their publication. They secured the services of Mr. Horace Frank, Architect, for autographing the plates, a considerable sum of money being raised to meet this expense. Subsequently Drs. Jastrow and Gottheil gave up their plan of publication, and when Professor Hilprecht, then Curator, put the bowls into my hands, I fell heir to Mr. Frank's labors. I found he had prepared about 75 plates, but of these I have been able to use only 23, covering my Numbers 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 16, 17, 24, 28, 31, 36, 37, 38, 40. His other plates were copies of broken and mutilated bowls which were not worth publishing (see Introduction, § 1). It appears also that not all the good texts were placed in his hands, or else that he did not complete them all.

There is only one drawback in Mr. Frank's excellent reproductions, one which however does not impair their accuracy. Working without much direction and knowing nothing of the language, he often broke a word at the end of the line and carried it over to the next. I have seen no reason to repair this technical error in his copies, but have guarded against it in the work of the later copyists.

There thus remained of the texts which came to be included in this publication twenty-five which still required autographing. Shrinking from this tedious mechanical labor, especially after an expert hand had preceded me, I was very glad to avail myself of the kind cooperation of Professor

Gordon, Director of the Museum, who offered me the expert services of his staff. Consequently, under my direction, the remaining copies were prepared by Mr. William C. Orchard (Nos. 1, 5, 7, 10-15, 19, 21-23, 25, 27, 29, 32, 34, 35), and by Miss M. Louise Baker (Nos. 20, 26, 30, 33, 39).

The style of Mr. Frank's copies conditioned those for which I am responsible. He had abandoned the spiral arrangement of the originals and made his reproductions in straight lines. This method may be faulted as not giving the exact form of the original, but this demerit is small as compared with the advantage to the scholar of having the whole text lying before him at one glance without his being under the necessity of turning a bulky volume around and around to follow the spiral career of the text. I was therefore quite satisfied to retain this method of reproduction.

It may be remarked that all my decipherment was made entirely from the originals; only after my own work was finished did I compare Mr. Frank's copies. In a few cases I was able to improve his facsimiles, in several cases his copies, which were made when the texts were fresher and more legible (they have manifestly faded under exposure to light), have helped me correct or enlarge my readings. The other copyists also worked independently, and then we compared our respective results. The cooperation of others, expert copyists, with the author has thus tended to a full control of the accuracy of the facsimiles and transliterations.

I have finally to speak in the highest terms of the artistic and painstaking labors of these two gentleman and Miss Baker, whose assistance has afforded me so great relief.

CATALOGUE

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
1	1	8693	6.5 + 17	Broken and mended, with two holes. Written inside and out in large coarse script, .5 cm. average height, rude spiral design in center.
2	2	2945	7.2 + 17.4	Broken and mended. Fair, large characters. .4 cm. in height. In center two large figures, one in reverse position to other; one of which appears to be making a sign with his hand (as against the evil eye?), probably the sorcerer, the other with feet hobbled, the demon.
3	3-4	2963	10.3 + 20.5	Broken and mended, with a segment 6 + 12 cm. missing. Flat boss. The rim of the bowl has a double edge. Fair characters, .3 cm. high. In the center figure of a demon, armed with helmet and a sabre and spear in either hand, and his feet manacled.
4	4-5	2923	7.5 + 17.3	Broken and mended, small segment missing. Characters .4 cm. high. In the center figure of the sorcerer waving a magic bough.

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
5	6	2952	7 + 18	Slightly broken and mended, with small fragment missing. Characters .4 cm. high. In center rude figure of a demon with four arms and one leg.
6	7	2916	6 + 15.8	Perfect bowl but for a fracture which does not touch the text. Small circle in center. Characters .3 cm. high, rather crabbed.
7	8	16007	5.6 + 15.7	Broken and mended, with a square fragment of text missing. Fine, clear characters, .2 cm. high. In center circle with cross.
8	8-9	9013	8.5 + 16.6	Broken and mended, with two small fragments missing. Characters .2 cm. high. In center obscene picture of a lilith with hands and feet bound.
9	10	9010	6 + 17.7	Perfect bowl. Characters much obliterated, .4 cm. high. Circle in center. On exterior four short lines in Hebrew.
10	11	16014	6.9 + 14.2	Broken and mended with segment missing. Characters .4 cm. high. In center monstrous figure with owl-like head and apparently several breasts, presumably a lilith.
11	12	16022	6.3 + 16.1	Broken and mended, with three fragments of the text missing. Characters carelessly written, .3 or .4 cm. high. In center rude design, probably of a lilith.

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
12	13	9009	7.2 + 17.7	Perfect bowl. Characters .4 cm. high, coarse but distinctly formed. In center a demon, with beastlike face and arms and feet bound. Endorsement on exterior.
13	14	8694	7 + 16.2	Broken and mended, with small piece missing. Coarse, clumsy characters, .6 cm. high. In the center a clumsy figure of a demon with caterpillar-like arms. Text continued on the exterior for 6 lines.
14	15	16017	6.8 + 18.7	Broken and mended, with missing segment. Characters .4 cm. high, in a good hand. In center a lilith with hands and feet manacled.
15	16	16087	7.3 + 17.2	Broken and mended. Characters .4 cm. high. In center figure of a serpent with its tail in its mouth.
16	17	2920	6.8 + 16.3	Broken and mended. Characters coarse, .3 cm. high. Rough circle in center.
17	18	2922	7 + 15.7	Broken and mended, with a segment missing. Characters coarse, .4 cm. high. In the center the circle and cross, formed in a peculiar way.
18	19	8695	7.2 + 16.1	Broken and mended, with fragment of about 5 cm. square missing. Coarse characters, .4 cm. high. In center rude and faded design—of a demon?

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
19	20		6.6 + 17.6	Broken and mended. Characters crabbed and obscure, closely written, .3 cm. high. Circle and cross in center.
20	21	16023	7 + 17	Broken and mended, fragment missing. Large, coarse characters, .6 cm. high. Large figure of a demon manacled, with a circle in his breast bisected by two lines. For the magical words accompanying see commentary.
21	22	16054	6.5 + 17	Broken and mended, with two fragments missing, a small one in the text. Script large, .8 cm. high, and rude. In center a rectangular figure divided into three squares, in one of those at the end two large markings like letters.
22	22-23	16006	6.5 + 16	Broken and mended, with two fragments missing. From the same hand as No. 21 and with the same design, the markings in the square suggesting a face.
23	22	16090	7 + 17.2	Broken and mended. From the same hand as Nos. 21, 22, and with similar design.
24	23	2926	7 + 16.8	Broken and mended, small fragment missing. Coarse script, .7 cm. high. In the center a figure of rude concentric circles with radial lines.

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
25	24	16009	6.9 + 17.2	Broken and mended, with four fragments missing. Coarse script, .5 cm. high.
26	24	3997	6.9 + 15.5	Broken and mended. Script .4 cm. high. In the center a rough circle bisected by two lines, in each segment a magical word.
27	25	16041	5.6 + 16.6	Broken and mended with two considerable fragments missing. Script fine and fair, .2 cm. high. In the center a circle with cross.
28	25	2972	6.5 + 16.5	Broken and mended, four fragments missing, the text much blurred or obliterated. A fair script,.3 cm. high.
29	26	16055	6.8 + 17	Broken and mended, one fragment missing. Bold and well formed characters .5 cm. high.
30	26	16096	6.5 + 16.8	Broken and mended, small fragment missing. Script .3 to .4 cm. high. In center rude figure of a lilith with tresses flying and hands and feet bound.
31	27	9008	6.6 + 16	Perfect. Syriac script, .3 cm. high. In center a circle divided into four squares each with a cross in it.
32	28	16086	6.9 + 17	Broken and mended, one large and one small fragment missing. Same script and design as in No. 31.

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
33	29	16019	6.2 + 15.5	Broken and mended, with two considerable fragments missing. In center cross with circle.
34	30	9012	7.5 + 17.5	Broken and mended. Design as in Nos. 31, 32.
35	31	16097	6.5 + 16.1	Broken and mended, two small fragments missing. Design as in No. 33.
36	32	2933	6.3 + 15.4	Broken and mended, with about half of the two lines on the margin missing.
37	33	2943	6.5 + 17	Broken and frequently repaired, much of the margin missing and a large part of the text obliterated. The script the smallest in the Syriac bowls, .2 to .3 cm. high. In the center circle and cross, each segment containing presumably letters of the Tetragrammaton.
38	34	2941	7 + 17	Broken and mended, with several small holes. Mandaic script average character about .2 cm. high. Small circle in center. A brief phrase written radially near the margin on the exterior.
39	35	9005	6.8 + 17.2	Broken and mended, some fragments missing. Script larger and coarser than in No. 38, .3 cm. high.
40	36-38	2972	7.3 + 17.2	Broken and mended, some large lacunae. Script as in No. 39. The text covers also most of the exterior. Circles in the center.

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EXTERIOR

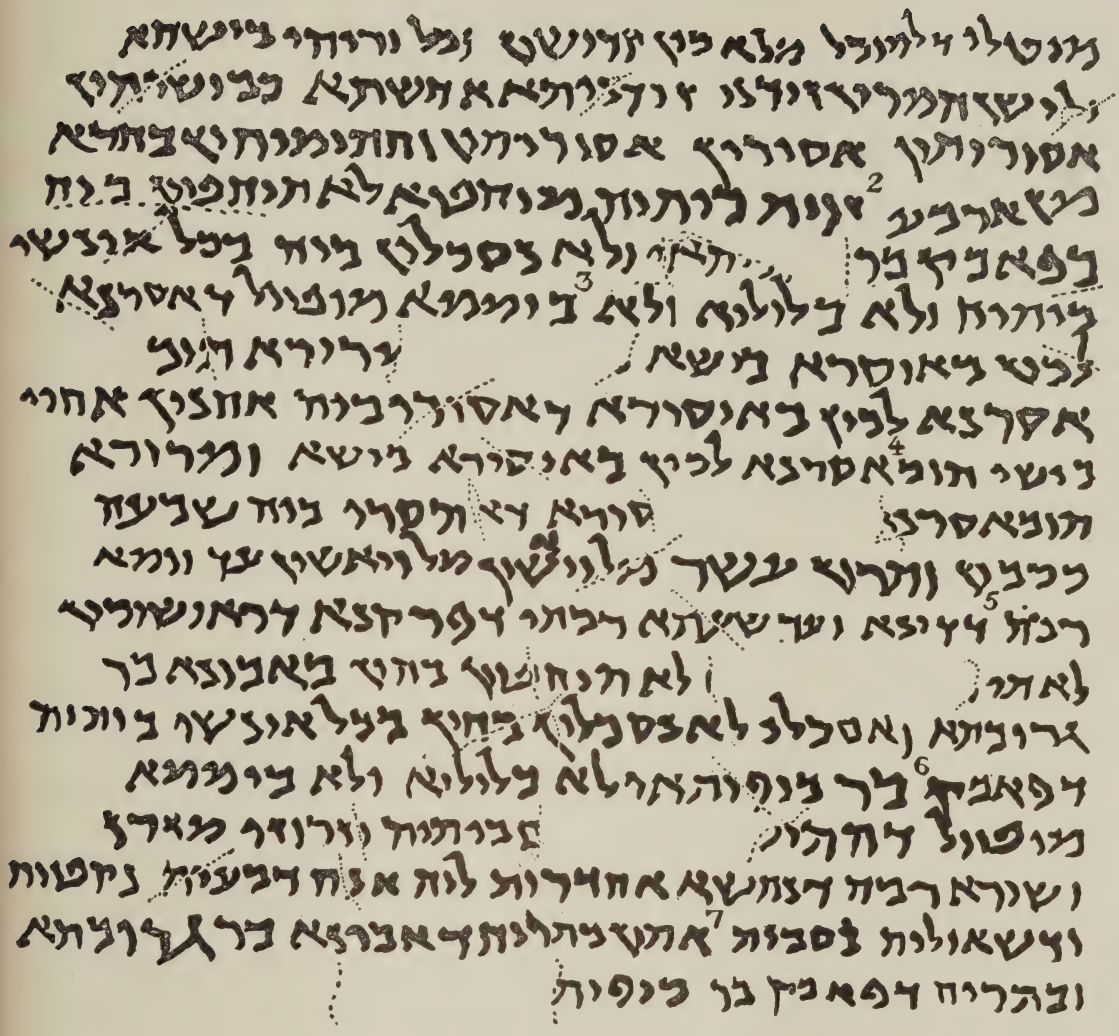




FIGURE FOR TEXT 3.

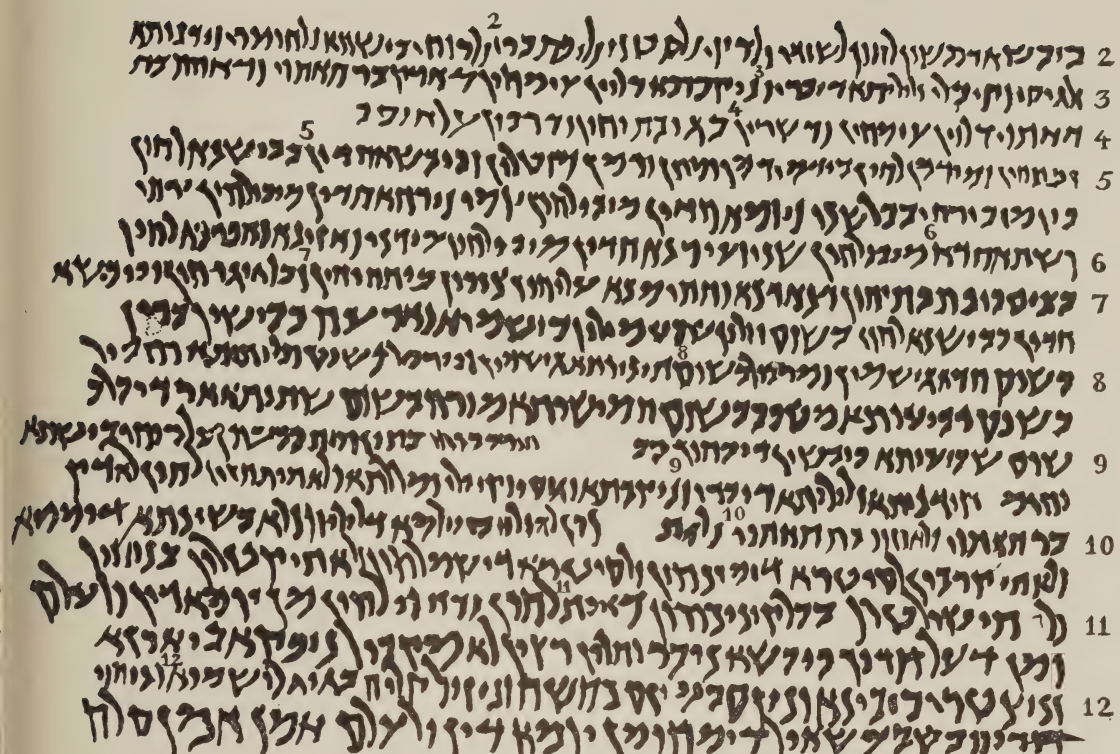


FIGURE FOR TEXT 4.



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FIGURE FOR TEXT 8.

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EXTERIOR

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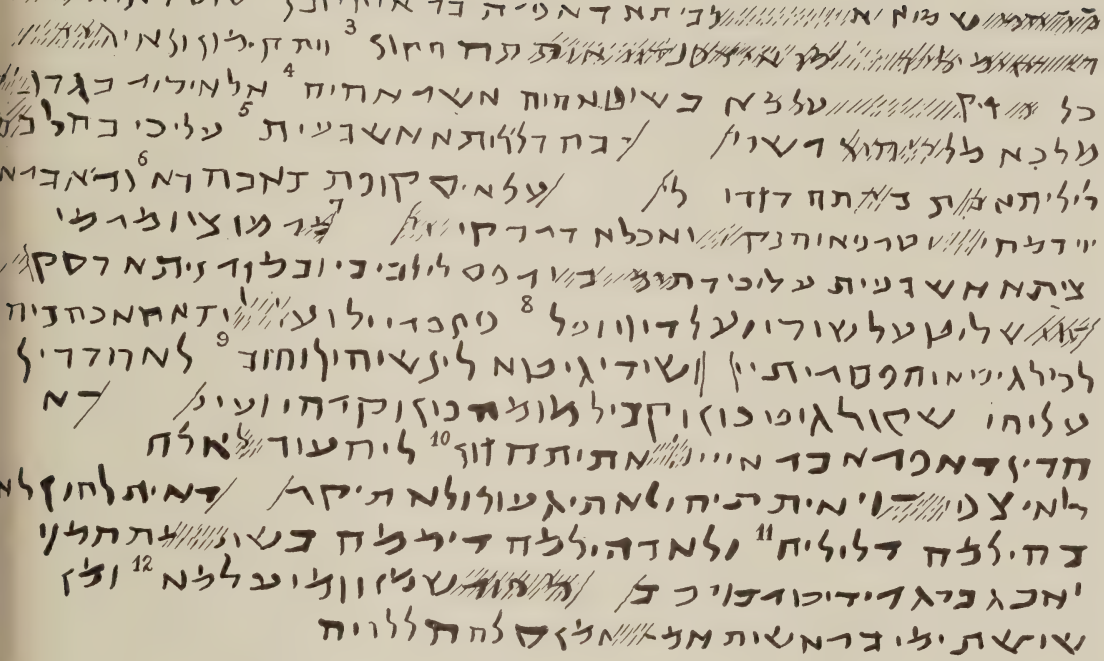
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FIGURE FOR TEXT 24.

FIGURE FOR TEXT 22.

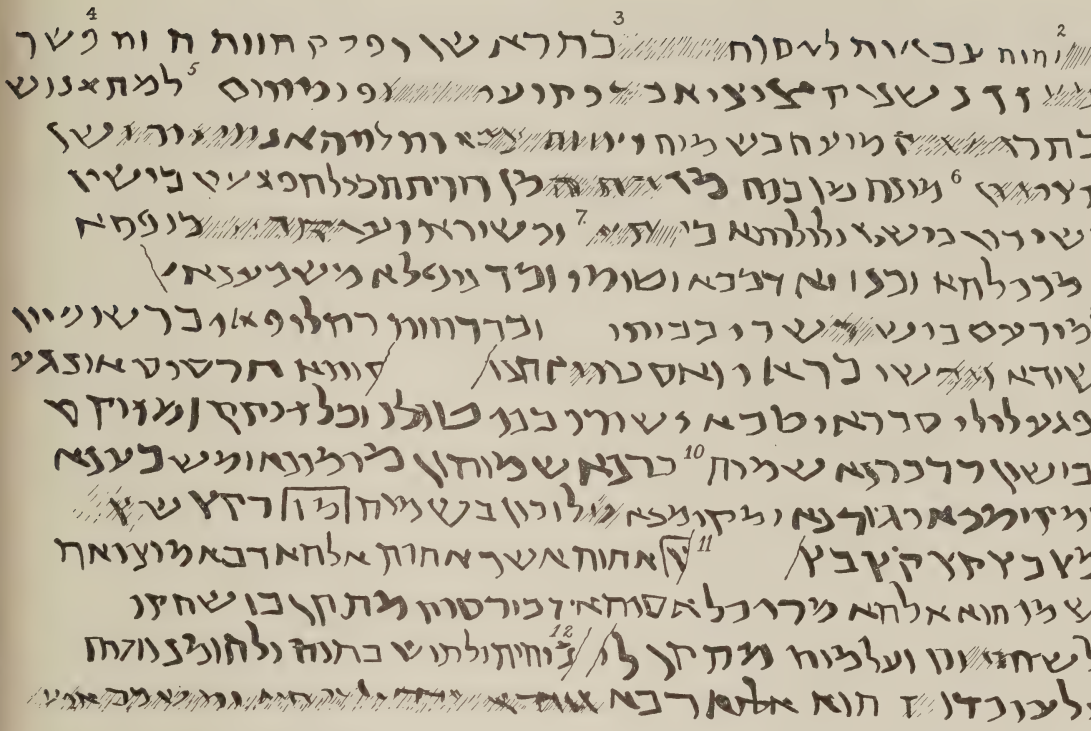
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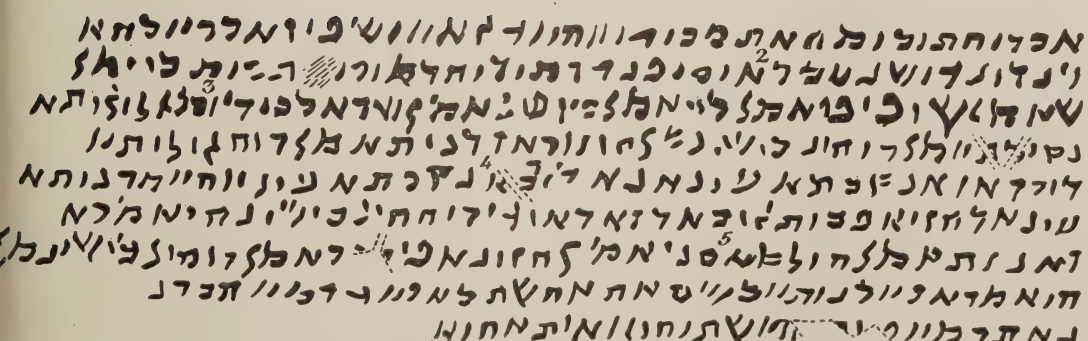
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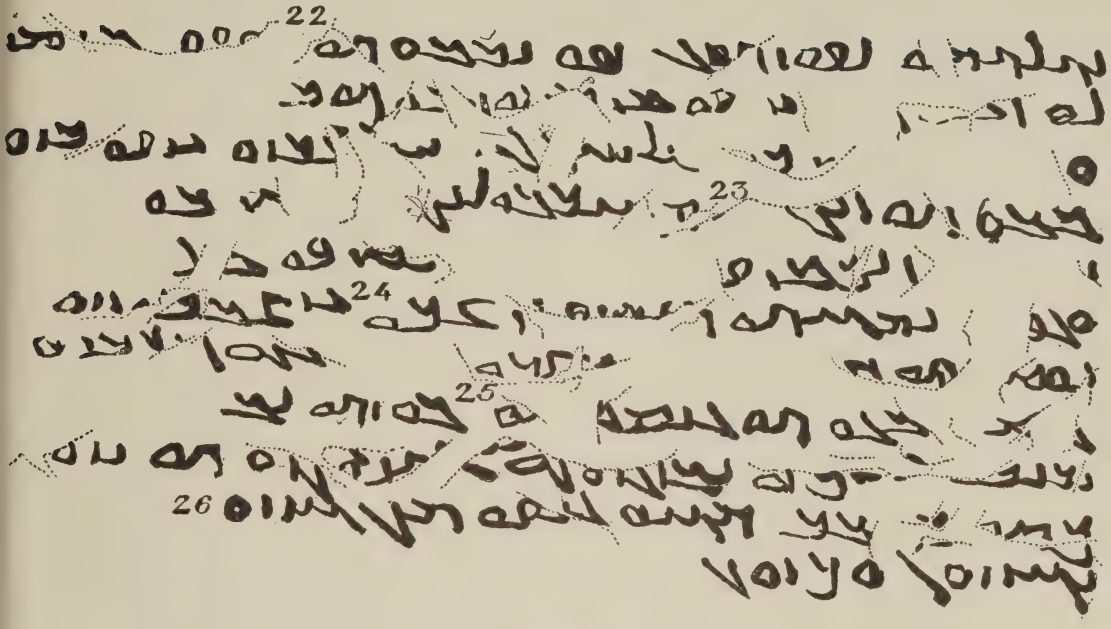
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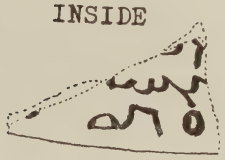
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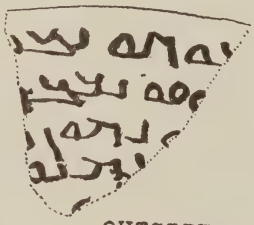


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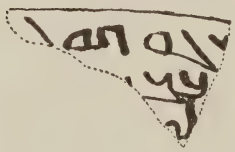


INSIDE





OUTSIDE



ALPHABETIC TABLES.

I Square Script.							Text Numbers		II Mandaic Script.		
7	4	16	19	21-23	26	25			38	39	40
א	א	א	א	א	א	א					
ב	כ	ב	ב	כ	ב	ב					
ג	ל	ג	ג	ל	ג	ג					
ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד					
		ה	ה	ה							
ו	י	ו	ו	ו	ו	ו					
ז	ז		ז	ז	ז						
ח	ת	ח	ח	ח	ח	ח					
ט	ט	ט			ט	ט					
י	י	י	י	ז	י	י					
כ	כ	כ	כ	כ	כ	כ					
ל	ל	ל	ל	ל	ו	ל					
מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ					
נ	נ	נ	נ	ו	ו	נ					
ס	ס	ס	ס	ס		ס					
ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע					
פ	פ	פ	פ	פ	פ	כ					
צ					צ						
ק	ק	ק	ק	ק		ק					
ר	ר	ד	ר	ד	ר	ר					
ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש					
ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת					
								ה			

III. COMPARATIVE TABLE FOR SYRIAC SCRIPT.

Estranghelo Syriac.	Bowl Texts.	Manichæan Turkish.	Estranghelo Syriac.	Bowl Texts.	Manichæan Turkish.
ܐ			ܣ		
ܒ			ܥ		
ܓ			ܦ		
ܕ			ܨ		
ܗ			ܩ		
ܘ			ܪ		
ܙ			ܫ		
ܚ			ܬ		
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